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THE SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE FEDERATION
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Wet and Dry Years in a Decade of Massachusetts Public Records

By
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Secretary of the Scientific Temperance Federation

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CURRENT DIVISION
DEC 12 1922

THE author of this report presents it as an attempt to picture faithfully ten years of social conditions into which intemperance enters, in so far as they are represented in public records and in the experience of those agencies which touch most intimately the lives of the common people of a state and its capital city. Realizing the limitations of statistics, the author suggests that conclusions should be drawn from the general trend of the facts presented rather than from any isolated set of statistics.

This study was begun in the autumn of 1921, and a preliminary report of results read at the annual meeting of the National Temperance Council in Washington, D. C. in December. In the intervening months, the study has been extended to cover a ten-year period because it was soon discovered that comparison of the prohibition period with the immediately preceding years, when war conditions restricted drinking and the liquor traffic, did not reveal the full extent of the change which had taken place from the days when the sale of liquor was proceeding normally. While this plan of using a decade involved consideration of other factors than sobriety, it is believed that these factors have been fairly recognized, and that before we should get too far from the pre-prohibition period, its records should be compiled for reference. In most cases the data are compiled numerically, and not relatively to population. The latter method, it will at once be observed, would have given in most cases a still more favorable figure for recent years, as while the totals in the tables have been falling, the population of Boston and of Massachusetts has been slowly but steadily rising.

Acknowledgements are due for assistance in compiling some of the tables to Mr. Robert H. Magwood, and to the many public officials who have courteously supplied data for 1921 and 1922 not yet available in published reports.

The forewords are written by Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Professor of Clinical Medicine, Harvard Medical School, and Professor of Social Ethics, Harvard University, and by Mr. Robert A. Woods of the South End House, Boston, formerly member of the Boston Licensing Board and of the Board of Trustees of Norfolk State Hospital for Inebriates.

FOREWORD

THE outstanding conclusion from this report is, I think, that, *to the poor, prohibition in Massachusetts has been a signal blessing.* The rich may, for all we know, be as foolish as ever, but beyond any question the poor are better off. Drunkenness in women of the poorer classes has signally decreased; children under seventeen are much better off.

Evidently bad liquor does not kill so many as we have been led to suppose. From the health standpoint, the lessening of deaths from alcohol and from accidents goes hand in hand with the decrease of alcoholic insanity and chronic alcoholism. Doubtless the remarkable decrease of pneumonia and tuberculosis has some relation to Prohibition but evidently other factors are here at work.

I believe this report represents the truth as nearly as statistics and the first-hand observation of social workers can give it. I do not see how its conclusions can be impugned nor how anyone can help rejoicing in the improvement which it registers.

RICHARD C. CABOT.

FOREWORD

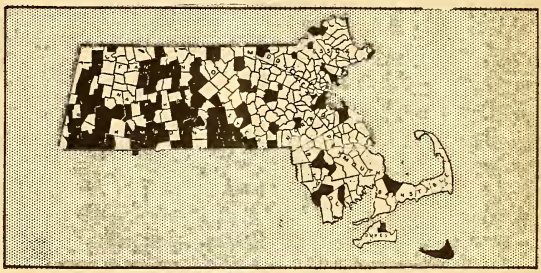
MISS STODDARD'S years of fruitful experience in the study of the scientific aspects of the temperance question have equipped her in a peculiar degree for the much needed service of tracing the results of prohibition. The precise object of the present inquiry into public records is highly important because it provides the large perspective in which the whole matter must be viewed and measured. If it is clear beyond peradventure that the net total result of prohibition is largely and uniformly, or almost uniformly favorable, there can be little question but that an increasing majority sentiment will support it on its merits. That sentiment will ensure that adequate enforcement legislation is provided and that the whole body of the prohibition law is increasingly well enforced.

Miss Stoddard's presentment will serve effectively to adjourn the discussion of the subject from the region of casual impression and hearsay to that of the comprehensive and total facts. And it can leave no doubt in the open mind as to what the facts down to date are.

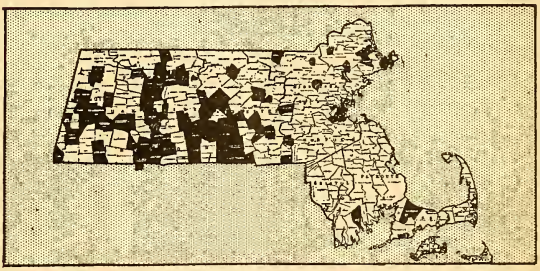
ROBERT A. WOODS.

WET AND DRY MAPS OF MASSACHUSETTS

JAN. 1, 1912



JAN. 1, 1919



BLACK, TOWNS AND CITIES WITH LICENSED SALOONS
WHITE, TOWNS AND CITIES WITHOUT SALOONS

The National War-Prohibition Law went into effect July 1, 1919. The map for Jan. 1, 1919, therefore, represents approximately the situation when the legal liquor traffic was abolished.

WET AND DRY YEARS IN A DECADE OF MASSACHUSETTS PUBLIC RECORDS

CORA FRANCES STODDARD

Executive Secretary of the Scientific Temperance Federation, Boston, Mass.

THE illuminating report in September, 1921, on "Social Effects of Prohibition" in Boston and in Massachusetts by Miss Amy Woods, compiled at the request of the present writer, suggested a continuation study bringing the observations up to date. It has seemed desirable to add more evidence from the state of Massachusetts as a whole, because the population of Boston is approximately one-fifth that of the entire state.

The former report covered the results of one year of prohibition. It showed distinct gains in the experience of the social welfare agencies which come into intimate relationship with the part of the population most likely to be affected.

The present study of public records is completed after two and one-half years of prohibition. It compares the last two years of this period with the pre-prohibition years of the decade, partly to put on permanent record significant but easily forgotten changes that have occurred. Such a comparison is necessary for adequate understanding of conditions found in the prohibition period.

THE BACKGROUND

The State of Massachusetts stands sixth as to population (3,852,356 by the U. S. Census of 1920), exceeded among the states in density of population (479.2 per square mile) only by Rhode Island. All but 202,108 of its people (94.8 per cent.) live in towns and cities of more than 2,500 population. They are chiefly engaged in commercial and industrial pursuits. Under local option many of the towns and cities had barred the legal sale of liquor. When prohibition came into effect, July 1, 1919, there were 19 cities and 91 towns which had saloons; in the remaining 19 cities and 225 towns the sale of liquor was barred out by popular vote.

The Metropolitan District. Boston is the largest city in the six New England states. Here are centered many of the commercial interests of the entire section. To it come each year for business and pleasure thousands of visitors who look upon Boston as their natural city center. It is surrounded by small municipalities and towns whose population boundaries are often indistinguishable. Many are chiefly residential. Others are both residential and industrial. Metropolitan waterworks, parks, and postal district blend into a certain community of

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interests this population which, including Boston proper, amounts to more than a million and a half. These municipalities and towns have been tenacious of self-government, preferring it to submitting their affairs to a "Greater Boston" city government. Boston is thus the business and social center of a population which numerically equals her own, but which in matters of local government acts by independent units.

Population of Boston. The population of the political unit of Boston is about three-quarters of a million,[1] nearly one-third of which in 1920 was foreign-born (31.9 per cent.); 31.8 per cent. more was native-born but with both parents foreign-born—altogether nearly two-thirds of the population at the most but one generation removed from the ideas and customs of other lands. Of the nearly 32 per cent. who were foreign-born, 57,011 were born in Ireland; 42,148 in Russia and Lithuania; 38,179 in Italy; 40,265 in British America. The remainder come in much smaller numbers from twenty or more other countries. Forty-seven per cent. (47.2) of the total white population, twenty-one years of age and over, is foreign-born.[2]

Here, then, is a large foreign-born population residing within the city, and a large non-residential population making Boston its business and social center but without direct political responsibility for its affairs. These two facts are a part of the background to be kept in mind in observing the operations of prohibition in Boston.

A Former License City. Another feature is the fact that in pre-prohibition days Boston was a liquor center for all northeastern New England. It was liquor from Boston, only three hours distant by rail from Maine, that contributed very considerably to the difficulties of enforcing prohibition in Maine. From the port of Boston went hundreds of thousands of gallons of rum (over a million in one war year) to the natives of Africa. In 1918, the last completely license year, Boston had 15 breweries,[3] 44 clubs with liquor licenses, 314 licensed places for the sale of liquor not to be drunk on the premises, 641 licensed for on-consumption,[4] a total of approximately 1,000 places where some or all forms of alcoholic beverages were sold. The majority of the towns and cities immediately contiguous had no legal liquor shops, having voted not to grant licenses for the same.

Wet Sentiment Residuum. Boston annually cast a majority vote for the saloon and this majority came from the wealthy, exclusive, largely native-born, "Back Bay" section as well from the down-town districts. There were many who sincerely believed that the licensing of saloons was the only feasible policy for a large city. From this point of view, Boston as a unit did not welcome prohibition, and it was to be expected that so radical a change in policy would require time to prove itself and to settle into the accepted routine of the city's life. One finds here the same signs of restiveness that appear in other cities—

[1]Population U. S. Census (1910), 670,585; state census (1915), 745,439; U. S. Census (1920), 748,060.

[2]Statement issued to the press March 30, 1922, from U. S. Census Bureau.

[3]Thirty-third Annual Report on Statistics of Manufacturers in Massachusetts for the year 1918.

[4]Annual Report of the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for the year ending November 30, 1918.

a class that resents prohibition, regarding it an infringement on personal liberty; some who rejoice in the use of stocks laid in in pre-prohibition days; some who consider it clever to evade or to violate the law and who do so as the fad of the moment; some who have turned to making "home brew"; some who see an opportunity to reap quick wealth by catering to appetite in violation of the law. ‡

Illegal Traffic Not New. In 1921 there were signs of organization of an illegal liquor traffic. Massachusetts had enacted no state law for enforcing prohibition until just as this report goes to press.* Old state liquor laws are enforced by state officials as far as they apply to the present situation. But these did not prohibit the manufacture, importation or transportation of intoxicating liquor. Hence the enforcement of national prohibition depended on a small force of Federal officers and on state and local officers who were willing but handicapped by lack of state law, so that it is not surprising that the second year of prohibition shows some increase over the first year in the matter of drunkenness and concomitant conditions.[5] But, nevertheless, the alcoholic conditions in 1921, so far as they are revealed in public records, were vastly better than in the pre-prohibition period as the following pages will demonstrate.

It should be noted, however, that liquor law violation has not sprung into existence with prohibition. It was here with the licensed saloon. Every person then found selling alcoholic liquors by the Federal revenue agents had to pay a United States tax. In 1910 there were 1,218 legal license holders in Boston, but 1,605 persons paid Federal taxes for selling, showing that 387 sold illegally. In sixteen Massachusetts cities in 1910 there were 2,586 liquor licenses granted, but there were 3,627 persons who paid Federal internal revenue liquor taxes, a thousand traceable illegal sellers, or about 40 per cent as many illegal as legal places. The ratio of illegal sellers to population was two and one-third times as great in towns and cities having legal saloons as in no-license towns and cities.† These statistics can not be used to measure the comparative degree of law enforcement because of the difference in conditions. Such facts indicate that liquor law viola-

‡The following official paragraph throws light on present day customs as to drink among a large group of students near Boston drawn from all over the country.

Prof. Henry A. Yeomans, Dean of Harvard College, said in the report for the academic year 1920-21:

"It seems clear that irrespective of the effects of the war, the student body as a whole is more responsible and more sensible of its obligations to the community than it was twenty or even ten years ago. They take a keener interest in the problems of the general community and react more sharply to its feelings and opinions.

"The use of alcoholic drinks, for instance, illustrates this tendency. If it be true, as many have thought, that since the passage of the eighteenth amendment a small group of students have drunk bad liquor with a bravado which has made them conspicuous, the same statement could be made as truthfully of small groups of their elders in most of our cities.

"However this may be, it seems clear that fewer students drink alcoholic liquor and fewer students drink it to excess than ever before."—*Harvard Alumni Bulletin, Jan. 26, 1922.*

*The bill enacting a state law for enforcement of national prohibition was signed by the governor of Massachusetts, May 17, 1922. As its opponents have petitioned for a popular referendum some months will elapse before it goes into force.

[5]The last report of the late Police Commissioner Edwin U. Curtis (Dec. 1, 1921) said (p. 8): "There is not on our statute books an act the same in all respects as the Volstead Act, and for that reason the handling of the liquor situation is and must be unsatisfactory. . . . There is no adequate enforcement act in this state with the result that the state officers of the law come in for a great deal of well-meant but unjust criticism."

†Study by Geo. W. Alden: *"More Dives and Kitchen Barrooms in License Places."*

tion went on before prohibition when ample provision had been made for legal traffic in alcoholic beverages.

THE PERIOD STUDIED

In order that a comprehensive view may be had of the conditions before and after prohibition, statistics are presented for ten consecutive years beginning with 1912. A decrease in the arrests for drunkenness began in 1918 during the World War. This was due to several facts: There were three-quarters of a million of Massachusetts men in the army; increased attention was given to law enforcement at the Government's insistent demand (*Boston Herald,* editorial Dec. 9, 1921); in 1918 and 1919 there was full employment which prevented idleness; in 1917[6] had begun national restrictions on the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors which contributed to the increasing sobriety shown by the figures of the two years preceding the prohibition period.

The tables show, therefore, six normal license years, four years of increasing restriction of which two and one-half years to December 31, 1921, were under national prohibition.

Prohibition was designed to promote the general health and welfare. Granting the restiveness indicated against the law, the question of the unprejudiced observer will naturally be: What are the net results so far of prohibition? Are the net results in view of law violations as bad as before, or is prohibition producing social benefits in directions anticipated?

ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS

Drunkenness in Boston. The number of arrests for drunkenness in Boston in 1921 was the smallest in ten years except for 1920, also a prohibition year (Table 1). Although these arrests increased in 1921 over 1920, the average for the two prohibition years (26,393) was less than one-half the average for the seven wet years, 1912-1918.[7]

Foreign-born and Non-resident Arrests. The foreign-born and non-resident elements in the arrests for drunkenness in Boston show an interesting change. Between the two census years 1915 and 1920 the proportion per hundred of foreign-born population in the city dropped from 36 to 32. Foreign-born in 1915

[6]May, 1917: War Department orders establishing prohibition zones around military camps, forbidding the sale of alcoholic liquors to men in army uniform, extended in 1918 to the Navy. Sept. 8, 1917: the manufacture of distilled liquors ceased under the Food Control Act; the President empowered to prohibit the use of food materials in the manufacture of beer and wine. Dec. 8, 1917: the use of foods and food materials in the manufacture of beer reduced 30 per cent. by proclamation of the President.

These restrictions reduced the amount of liquor available, resulted in increasing the price. This, plus the patriotic appeal for sobriety during the war, tended to reduce the consumption of alcoholic liquors before War Prohibition became effective, July 1, 1919.

[7]The year 1919 is omitted from statistical comparison of averages of years ending at dates other than June 30, because it included only six months of prohibition (War Prohibition July 1–Dec. 31), hence was neither entirely "wet" nor entirely "dry." The status of that year can always be seen in the tables which show in most cases the effect of prohibition when the legal traffic is stopped and before organized illegal traffic gets into operation. The figures of 1919 should always be considered in connection with those for 1920 and 1921, although for reasons of fairness in comparison, they are omitted from statistical averages. The term "wet years," as hereafter used, unless otherwise specified, means the average of the seven years 1912-18; the term "dry years" means the two years, 1920 and 1921.

furnished 46 in every hundred arrests for drunkenness; in 1920, only 38 in a hundred. Thus while the foreign-born population ratio decreased 11 per cent., its drinkers' arrest ratio decreased 17 per cent.

The non-resident drinker was responsible for 47 in each one hundred arrests for drunkenness in the seven wet years; for 32 in a hundred arrests in the two dry years. Fewer temptations to drink in the city may be one explanation. Some increase in arrests for drunkenness in outlying cities suggests that the drinker who formerly found his drink in Boston now gets it by illegal methods nearer home. Yet the number of these cases of drunkenness can not be large because the arrests for drunkenness in the entire state have also sharply decreased (Table 3). In any case the Boston police burden in caring for non-resident drinkers is lightened.

TABLE 1. Boston Arrests for Drunkenness

Year ending Nov. 30—	Total	Foreign-Born	Non-Resid't
1912	49,846	24,022	22,794
1913	54,951	26,337	25,764
1914	59,159	28,440	27,017
1915	57,811	27,005	25,541
1916	65,051	30,027	28,991
1917	73,393	33,343	37,963
1918	54,948	25,225	28,570
1919	35,540	14,424	18,124
1920	21,800	8,385	8,252
1921	30,987	12,053	8,800
Average 7 wet years 1912-1918	59,308	27,771	28,091
Average 2 dry years 1920-1921	26,393	10,219	8,526
Decrease	55%	63%	69%

(Annual Statistics from reports Boston Police Commissioner)

Deer Island House of Correction. To the House of Corrections on Deer Island in Boston harbor the courts committed over 5,000 cases for drunkenness in each of the first three wet years of the decade. The average for the seven wet years was 4,281 (Table 2). In 1921 there were only 665 commitments for drunkenness. Change in methods of dealing with drunkenness helped check this stream of population but the record for the decade (Table 2) shows in general the same sharp falling off as in other tables coincident with the war restrictions on the liquor traffic beginning in 1917-18.

The feminine population of the institution took an unexpected course with the coming of prohibition. The official report dated March 17, 1919, related that the average daily population of women had so largely increased in 1918 that the women's accommodations were seriously crowded for lack of the new woman's building which was being used temporarily by the United States Navy Department. "From an average population of 33," the report said, "our number ran up to nearly 100. If we are to continue to have a large number of women inmates, we must be ready to reinstate ourselves in the women's prison building as soon as possible."[1]

Three months and a half later, July 1, 1919, national prohibition became

[1]Report Boston Penal Institutions Department for 1918, pp. 30, 31, 35.

effective. By the first of January, 1920, less than ten months after the complaint of over-crowding, "there were nearly as many matrons as there were female inmates."[2] There were so few women that those remaining were transferred to Boston jail and the courts were requested to make no further commitments to the House of Correction. The woman's building is closed.

TABLE 2. Deer Island, Boston, Suffolk County House of Corrections

Official Year[8]	Total Committed by Courts[9]	Committed for Drunkenness[9]	Total Women Committed by Courts	Women Committed for Drunkenness
1912	7,892	5,731	821	619
1913	7,352	5,022	755	565
1914	8,105	5,366	671	492
1915*	7,358	4,768	822	588
1916	6,579	4,731	753	523
1917	4,489	2,975	388	239
1918	2,603	1,375	342	164
1919	1,450	599	162	91
1920	710	352	2[10]	1
1921	1,337†	665†	2†	0†
Average 7 wet years 1912-1918.	6,339	4,281		
Average 2 dry years 1920-1921.	1,023	508		
Decrease	83%	88%		

Boston jail apparently suffered no overcrowding by the closing of this Deer Island woman's building. More than a thousand women a year had been sentenced to the two institutions in four of the seven wet years of the decade; the annual average for the seven years was 972. In 1921 the number of women thus sentenced was 168.[3]

Drunkenness Arrests in Massachusetts. In the state of Massachusetts the arrests for drunkenness had steadily risen (Table 3) during the license years, reaching the highest number (129,455) in 1917. The annual average for the seven wet years was 108,123. In 1921 there were but 59,585. For the two prohibition years ending 1921 (Sept. 30) the average was only 48,372, less than one-half that of the wet years.

The total arrests for drunkenness in the two dry years amounted to 96,745. One must go back thirty-four years to find another two-year period with so few. The population of the state had meanwhile increased over 80 per cent.

ARRESTS FOR ALL OFFENSES

The Crime Wave. The 72,161 arrests for all causes in Boston in 1921 were the fewest of the decade except in 1920, also a prohibition year, and the part prohibition year of 1919. The average for the seven wet years was 90,079

[2]Report for 1920, page 8.

[3]Years ending Sept. 30. Statistics from Mass. Dept. of Corrections.

[8]The official year ends on Jan. 31 of the succeeding calendar year. Thus, the figures for 1912 are for the twelve months ending Jan. 31, 1913.

[9]Includes both men and women.

[10]No women retained at Deer Island since Feb. 10, 1920. If committed were transferred elsewhere.

†Items thus marked have been supplied by officials in advance of published reports. Always subject to minor variations in printed report.

(Annual statistics from reports Penal Institutions Dept. 1920-21 from Institutions Dept.)

(Table 5a). Police officials declare that the increase in 1921 over 1920 represents increased efficiency by the police force. Unemployment may be a factor, as shown by an increase of arrests for such offenses as breaking and entering and other crimes which would naturally result from unemployment.

There were fewer arrests in Boston in 1921 for offenses against the person than in 1916 and 1917, the last normal wet years (Table 4); fewer for offenses against property with violence than in two of the wet pre-war years; fewer for offenses against property without violence than in four of the seven wet years; fewer for malicious offenses against property than in any of the wet years except 1918; fewer for offenses against chastity than in any of the wet years.

TABLE 3. Arrests for Drunkenness, Massachusetts

Year ending Sept. 30—	All Cities Arrests	Total in Mass. Arrests	Mass. Population
1912	87,586	98,651	
1913	94,445	104,936	
1914	98,515	108,185	
1915	96,866	106,146	3,693,100
1916	107,295	116,655	
1917	118,146	129,455	
1918	85,447	92,838	
1919	72,849	79,212	
1920	34,415	37,160	3,852,326
1921	54,252†	59,585†	
Average 7 license years 1912-1918..	98,328	108,123	
Average 2 prohibition yrs. 1920-1921	44,333	48,372	
Decrease	55%	55%	

(Annual Statistics from reports of the Massachusetts Department of Corrections)

It is true that there was an increase in 1921 over 1920 in arrests for the four groups of offenses against the person and property commonly thought of in connection with a "crime wave." (Table 4 a, b, c, d.) But while there were 8,709 of these arrests in 1921, there had been an annual average of 9,212 during the wet years, and in a smaller population.

Offenses Against Chastity. Especially interesting is the decline in arrests in Boston for offenses against chastity; there was the smallest number in the decade in 1919, 1920 and 1921. The Mexican border and World War mobilizations may have been partly responsible for the high figures of 1915-1918, although the curves of arrests for drunkenness and for offences against chastity in Boston in the decade show a general tendency to rise and fall simultaneously. The highest point in both groups of arrests was reached in 1917. The increase in 1921 over 1920 accompanies an increase in drunkenness. But the average for the three years unaccompanied by military movements, 1912-1914, was 1,896; for the two dry years was 1,671. The return of the soldiers in 1919 and 1920 was not accompanied by an increase, as in some other countries, but by a decrease.

Arrests of Non-residents for All Causes. There were 16,033 fewer non-residents arrested in Boston in 1921 than in the average wet year, a decrease of almost one-half, which would suggest that Boston police were thereby given more opportunity to attend to offenses committed by the city's own citizens.

Massachusetts Crime. In the state of Massachusetts, arrests for all causes had been steadily mounting until they had reached in 1917 a climax of 209,116. There were but 152,066 in 1921, a decrease of 14 per cent. from the average for the seven wet years. (Table 6.)

TABLE 4. Arrests in Boston for Offenses Other Than Drunkenness

During year ending Nov. 30	(a) Offenses against the person	(b) Offenses against property with violence	(c) Offenses against property without violence	(d) Malicious offenses against property	(e) Offenses against chastity	Other offenses not drunkenness*
1912	3,422	510	3,693	165	1,916	15,944
1913	3,764	504	3,958	222	1,884	16,484
1914	3,879	689	5,036	217	1,889	18,336
1915	3,793	688	4,712	212	2,455	19,091
1916	5,058	552	3,864	267	2,987	18,697
1917	4,825	556	4,655	209	3,166	21,752
1918	3,739	629	4,546	132	2,976	23,323
1919	3,551	716	4,310	146	1,763	21,921
1920	3,046	565	3,486	101	1,462	28,357
1921	3,771	632	4,162	144	1,881	30,584
Av. 7 license years 1912-18 ..	4,068	589	4,352	203	2,467	
Av. 2 prohibition yrs 1920-21.	3,408	598	3,824	122	1,671	
Decrease	16%	Inc. 1%	Dec. 12%	39%	32%	

*These include a large number of miscellaneous arrests about one-half of which in 1921 were for violation of street traffic regulations (1,930) and of automobile law (9,408) and arrests of suspicious persons (3,926).

Annual statistics from Reports Police Commissioner of Boston.

Arrests are divided into three groups: (1) offenses against the person, (2) offenses against property, (3) offenses against public order. While all three groups were larger in 1921 than in 1920, the arrests for offenses against the person were fewer in 1921 than for any wet year, except 1918; public order offenses were fewer than in any year of the decade, except 1920. These are the two groups where improvement would be expected as a result of prohibition. The gain to public order in these two groups under prohibition is still more conspicuous when the average for the two prohibition years is compared with the aver-

TABLE 5. Arrests for All Causes in Boston

Year ending Nov. 30—	a Total	b Foreign-Born	c Non-Resid't
1912	75,496	33,837	28,645
1913	81,767	36,350	31,800
1914	89,205	39,156	34,450
1915	88,762	38,108	33,183
1916	96,476	41,325	36,825
1917	108,556	45,479	47,183
1918	90,293	37,315	38,395
1919	67,947	24,776	27,325
1920	58,817	20,918	18,953
1921	72,161	26,297	19,752
Average 7 license years 1912-18	90,079	38,795	35,783
Average 2 prohibition years 1920-21	65,489	23,607	19,352
Decrease	27%	39%	45%

(Annual statistics from Reports Boston Police Commissioner)

age for the wet years (Table 6)—a decrease of 19 per cent. in the prohibition years in offenses against the person; a decrease of 27 per cent. in offenses against public order.

TABLE 6. Massachusetts Arrests by Classes

Year Ending Sept. 30—	(a) Offenses Against the Person	(b) Offenses Against Property	Per 100,000 Pop.	(c) Offenses Against Public Order	(d) Total Arrests
1912	10,197	11,980		133,310	155,487
1913	11,052	13,157		142,415	166,624
1914	11,053	15,393		150,172	176,618
1915	11,106	15,942	431[1]	151,962	179,010
1916	10,823	12,849		162,690	186,362
1917	11,088	15,258		182,770	209,116
1918	8,941	15,218		149,131	173,290
1919	8,924	16,786		134,682	160,592
1920	7,739	12,971		94,916	115,626
1921	9,546†	16,267†	418[2]	126,253†	152,066†
Av. 7 wet years 1912-18...	10,608	14,256		153,207	178,072
Av. 2 dry years 1920-21...	8,642	14,619		110,584	133,846
Decrease	19%	*2%		27%	24%

(Annual statistics from Reports Police Commissioner of Boston).

*Gain in total but a decrease per 100,000 population.
[1]Based on State Census for 1915.
[2]Based on 1921 population, estimate 3,885,836.

Arrests for offenses against property averaged slightly more in 1920-21 tnan in the wet years. (Table 6b.) This may reflect hard times; it may indicate increased police efficiency including the work of the newly organized State Police in 1921. With nearly 60,000 fewer arrests for drunkenness than in the average wet year, police may be able to give more attention to protecting property. As a matter of fact even the 16,267 arrests for offenses against property in 1921 represent a measurable gain over conditions in 1915 (also a year of unemployment) when there were 431 arrests per 100,000 population for offenses against property, while in 1921 there were but 418.

FEWER WOMEN BEFORE THE COURTS

What is the effect of prohibition on women, has been asked? One answer is 5,233 fewer women arrested for all offenses in Massachusetts in 1921 than in the last pre-war "wet" year, 1916 (Table 7); forty-two hundred (4,218) fewer than in the average wet year.

There has been a decrease of over two-thirds in the arrests of women for drunkenness. During the seven wet years there was an annual average of 7,273 women arrested in Massachusetts for drunkenness. In the two dry years, the average was only 2,251.

This change affects particularly the life of the cities, for about nine-tenths of the arrested women came from the cities, and more than half of them from Boston alone. In Boston the average of 8,231 women arrested for all causes in the wet years had dropped to 5,020 in 1921. The average for the two prohibition years was 43 per cent below that of the seven wet years. The drunkenness

arrests fell from an average of 4,743 in the wet years to 1,494 in the prohibition years.

Arrests of women in Boston for offenses against chastity were fewer in 1921 than in any wet year of the decade. There were but 794 arrests for this offense; in the seven wet years the annual average was 1,192.

TABLE 7. ARRESTS OF WOMEN

	Boston — Year Ending Nov. 30		Massachusetts — Year Ending Sept. 30	
	All Causes	Drunkenness	All Causes	Drunkenness
1912	7,248	4,369	11,624	6,932
1913	7,604	4,563	12,309	7,272
1914	7,704	4,734	12,144	7,223
1915	8,308	5,017	12,763	7,451
1916	9,043	5,404	13,958	8,006
1917	9,473	5,315	14,726	8,207
1918	8,241	3,803	13,078	5,822
1919	5,663	2,500	11,058	4,784
1920	4,285	1,328	7,043	1,868
1921	5,020	1,661	8,725†	2,634†
Av. 7 license years 1912-18	8,231	4,743	12,943	7,273
Av. 2 prohibition years 1920-1921	4,652	1,494	7,884	2,251
Decrease	43%	68%	39%	69%

(Annual Statistics from reports Boston Police Commissioner, State Dept. of Corrections)

PRISON POPULATION

The women have apparently gained more than the men under prohibition, perhaps because they are less exposed to the bootleggers' blandishments and are less likely to seek out the tribe. At all events the average number of women in all penal institutions of Massachusetts on September 30, 1920 and 1921 of the two dry years (Table 9d) was the lowest of the decade, 60 per cent. smaller than the wet years' average, while the total prison population on this date had dropped 52 per cent.

Reformatory for Women. A decrease of practically one-half in the number of commitments to the State Reformatory for Women in the two prohibition years (Table 8a) carries a stage farther the story, not only of the passing of the alcoholic women from penal institutions, but also of other women offenders. In 1921 there were but 6 women committed for drunkenness to the State Reformatory for Women, about 5 per cent. of the total commitments as compared with a yearly average of 20 per cent. in the seven wet years. The commitments from the courts for all offenses in 1920 were 102; in 1921, were 118; in the wet years the average was 219. In Miss Woods' report in 1920, Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, Superintendent of the Reformatory, is quoted as saying, "Now that the old rounders are being eliminated from our Reformatory population, we are getting a much higher type of younger girl, the sort a Reformatory should receive." In a letter (March 3, 1922) Mrs. Hodder writes: "We see no reason to change our statement."

The Massachusetts Reformatory had 268 men sentenced to it in 1921. (Table 8b.) Although this was a larger number than in 1920 and the two preceding full employment years, the number of sentences was smaller than that of six of the seven wet years and 25 per cent. below the average of the wet

years (361). Doubtless, too, some allowance must be made here for increased use of probation with youthful offenders.

TABLE 8. Prison Population

Year Ending Sept. 30	(a) Reformatory for Women—Commitm'ts by Courts		Pop. Sept. 30	(b) State Reformatory Men—Commitm'ts by Courts		Pop. Sept. 30	(c) State Farm Commitments by Courts			Pop. Sept. 30
	Total	Drunkenness		Total	Drunkenness		Total	Drunkenness	Vagrancy	
1912	208	56	186	353	31	618	3,404	2,897	341	1,475
1913	206	42	237	453	26	672	3,564	3,082	306	1,420
1914	258	51	310	441	14	716	3,184	2,566	387	1,447
1915	223	44	305	473	35	733	3,275	2,605	551	1,408
1916	179	39	265	294	12	528	3,191	2,755	353	1,341
1917	202	48	268	291	9	553	2,920	2,532	309	1,188
1918	259	28	363	221	5	401	1,180	948	184	529
1919	226	31	261	267	4	428	1,046	802	194	366
1920	102	5	174	203	0	359	370	253	88	250
1921	118	6	180	268	2	502	645	435	185	440
Av. 7 wet yrs. 1912-1918	219	44	276	361	19	603	2,959	2,483	347	1,258
Av. 2 dry yrs. 1920-1921	110	5	177	235	1	431	507	344	136	345
Decrease	49%	88%	35%	34%	94%	28%	82%	86%	60%	72%

(Annual Statistics 1912-1920 from reports of the Mass. Department of Corrections)

The State Farm population is made up of drunkards, insane criminals, and almshouse paupers from southeastern Massachusetts. Here are committed those drunkards "broadly speaking who have resisted advice, repeated probation, fines and short imprisonments in Houses of Correction."[13] Kelso[14] says of it:

"Until the shortage in intoxicating beverages set in, the State Farm was one of the most populous prison farms for drunkards and vagrants to be found in the United States. The institution has a tract of 1,420 acres under intensive cultivation. Since the coming of prohibition the inmate population has not afforded enough labor to keep the farm tilled, and the state is already considering the wisdom of converting this immense plant to other uses."

During the wet years of decade an annual average of 2,959 prisoners was committed to the State Farm of whom 2,483 were committed for drunkenness. (Table 8c.) In 1921 there were but 645 commitments of which 435 were for drunkenness. The average for the two prohibition years shows a decrease of more than 80 per cent. from the wet years. "Numberless drunkards," said the superintendent's report for 1920, "threw up the sponge when the approved and legalized former opportunities were swept away by the thoughtful, conscientious verdict of their sober fellowmen, and they have kept the faith. During the busy industrial period of the war, commitments greatly decreased beginning with 1918. "Had the open saloon continued, the increased commitments would have overcrowded the place." In an interview July 9, 1921, the superintendent said: "Prohibition has stalled off a great deal of crime; has decreased the number of first commitments. We believe that it is a good thing, that it has come to stay. Any

[13]Personal communication. Mar. 8, 1922.

[14]Robert W. Kelso, Former Secretary Mass. State Board of Charities, in *Poor Relief in Massachusetts*, 1922, page 159.

loss of the population at the State Farm is almost entirely due to decreased drunkenness."

Vagrancy. Commitments to the State Farm for vagrancy decreased by 60 per cent. in the two prohibition years when compared with the average of the "wet" period. Though there were more vagrants committed in the unemployment year of 1921 than in 1920, there were only 185 of them as compared with 551 in the previous unemployment year of 1915 and the 1921 figure was lower than that of any wet year except 1918.

The prison population of the State Farm, Sept. 30, 1921, was but 440, about one-third of the average population (1,258) on the same date of the seven wet years. There were only one-fourth as many as in 1915.

Jails and Houses of Correction. There were formerly twenty institutions in Massachusetts known as jails or combined jails and houses of correction. Their annual average population on September 30 for the seven wet years of the decade (1912-1918) was 2,857, reaching the highest point of the decade in 1914 with a population of 3,599 (Table 9b). Since 1915, their population at this date never reached the 3,000 mark and steadily declined until in 1920 it was but 1,028. The number rose in 1921, but still was but little more than half the average for the seven "wet" years. One jail was closed in 1919. Five were closed in 1920 and two others though not officially closed were empty as they practically had been for years.

The increased use of probation for cases formerly committed to these institutions contributed to the decrease in 1916. This will be discussed later (page 17).

TABLE 9. Prison Population (*Continued*)
Remaining in Institutions

			Total All Penal Institutions	
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Year Ending Sept. 30—	State Prison	County Jails	Total	Women
1912	758	3,207	6,363	677
1913	728	3,189	6,377	732
1914	690	3,599	6,877	765
1915	761	3,320	6,663	839
1916	706	2,713	5,657	711
1917	648	2,346	5,239	684
1918	556	1,628	3,701	718
1919	537	1,170	2,896	440
1920	483	1,028	2,386	269
1921	525†	1,503†	3,252†	314†
Average 7 wet years 1912-1918	692	2,857	5,839	732
Average 2 dry years 1920-1921	504	1,265	2,819	291
Decrease	27%	56%	52%	60%

(Annual statistics from reports of Massachusetts Department of Corrections)

The State Prison. Similar facts as to decreased population could be given of other institutions, the details of which will be found in Table 9. Even the State Prison where prisoners are committed for the most serious offenses had a population lower at the close of the two prohibition years and the semi-prohibition year of 1919 than in any preceding wet year of the decade. (Table 9a.)

On September 30, 1921, the population was 525; the average for the two dry years was 504; the average for the wet years was 692.

TABLE 10. Convictions and Probation Cases

Year ending Sept. 30—	Total Convictions	Total Probation Cases	Per Cent Probation Cases of Total
1912	156,857	16,067	10.2
1913	180,127	21,074	11.6
1914	184,722	24,704	13.3
1915	115,157	27,994	24.3
1916	110,324	28,953	26.2
1917	121,210	30,588	25.2
1918	93,082	24,017	25.8
1919	96,542	24,537	25.4
1920	78,576	18,209	23.2
1921	95,624	23,845	24.7

(Statistics from Mass. Deputy Commissioner of Probation)

Why Prison Population Decreased. How much of the decrease of prison population in the prohibition years was due to prohibition; how much to changing methods of dealing with offenders? The question can not be answered statistically even while showing statistical differences. The facts concerning the decade seem to be these:

The number of arrests in Massachusetts had steadily increased, culminating in 1917 with 209,116 arrests for all causes. But the steady rise in arrests was not accompanied by a proportional rise in penal population although for many years there had been a slow upward trend in the latter. Changes in methods of dealing with offenders such as the development of the probation system, the release of persons arrested for drunkenness without arraignment, the use of the suspended sentence, had been a check on the number sent to penal institutions. Yet in no year between 1891 and 1915 did the number of persons remaining in penal institutions on September 30 fall below 6,000.

The proportion of convicted persons placed on probation rose from 13 per cent. in 1914 to 24 per cent. in 1915 and 26 per cent in 1916. Here came the first real break in penal population of the decade, 1912-21. In the succeeding three years the proportion of probation cases did not materially change, but the penal population continued to decrease, partly, perhaps because the probation officials were being charged more and more with some serious offenders formerly sent to institutions. Through 1917 and 1918 this decrease at the institutions is made up of the factors of probation, the war which removed from the state several hundred thousand men, full employment, and, in 1918, the war restrictions on alcoholic liquors (see p. 8). In 1919, the influence of probation, full employment and continued war liquor restrictions were augmented by war prohibition beginning July first, and the expected rise in penal population following the armistice did not occur;[15] instead, the prison population continued to decrease.

The Massachusetts Director of Prisons wrote in his Annual Report for 1919 (page 9):

[15]Report of Commissioner of Prisons. Public Document No. 13, 1900, pp. 222-3.

"Not since prison statistics in this state have been compiled have there been so few commitments to the penal institutions of the Commonwealth as the number of persons committed during the year ending Sept. 30, 1919. There were but 8,596 males and 1,168 females committed to the state and county prisons during this period. It was expected by those familiar with penal problems that there would be a sharp rise in the prison population immediately following the armistice and subsequent demobilization of troops. War-time prohibition put into effect last July added another cause to those already existing for our low population. The probation system and abnormal industrial conditions to which in a measure the low prison population was due still continue potent factors and to these is now added the prohibition amendment. It is doubtful with prohibition in effect if we shall see a very great increase in the number of commitments for many years to come.

"The task of dealing with offenders is made somewhat easier by the withdrawal from consideration of the drunkards and those offenders whose crimes were due to the excessive use of intoxicants. The prison population today is made up of the mental defectives, *the accidental offenders to a smaller degree than ever* (italics ours), and the normal who is either a drug addict or addicted to the use of intoxicants.

"We may expect the continued low number of commitments of female offenders. Prostitution, which in a large measure was due to the liquor dispensing cafés, is considerably on the wane."

In 1920, employment was slackening, the percentage of convicted placed on probation was the smallest since 1915; only about 50 per cent. of the arrested "drunks" were released without arraignment as compared with 70 per cent. or more in former years, indicating that "the court now wishes to deal with the inebriate rather than let him go after arrest without discipline." * There was no change in the proportion of drunkenness cases among suspended sentences. But the penal population remaining Sept. 30, 1920 (2,386) was not only the lowest of the decade; it was lower by 1,600 than the next smallest number recorded on this date through all the years since 1883 when there had been 3,981 prisoners. . . .

In 1921, came extensive unemployment, some increase in drunkenness arrests, and some rise in the penal population, yet the latter was still smaller by 700 on September 30th than that previous low record of thirty-seven years before.

The annual average of all sentences to penal institutions in the two prohibition years dropped off 74 per cent from the average for the seven wet years; sentences for offenses other than drunkenness dropped 58 per cent; sentences for drunkenness dropped 83 per cent. Reference to the tables will show that a large part of the decrease in prison population occurred at the State Farm whose superintendent has already been quoted as saying that any loss there is "almost entirely due to decreased drunkenness." (p. 16.) It would appear, therefore, that while during the decade there were several factors at work tending to reduce the prison population, the decrease in drunkenness and accompanying offenses had a preponderating influence in the special decrease which appeared in 1920 and 1921.

The institutional increase in 1921 may even mean a better administration of law under prohibition. As arrests for drunkenness have fallen one half and arrests for all causes nearly one-fourth (Tables 3 and 6d), the police officials may be able to give more attention to apprehending offenders who need institutional penalties. As the *Boston Herald* recently said of the increased prison population

*Report Deputy Commissioner on Probation. Public Document No. 85, 1920, p. 17.

of the state: "It also suggests that the law is getting hold of the malefactors and putting them where they will do less harm."

Further, elimination of the drunkenness factor in offenses tends to more appropriate dealing with the drinking offender. Cases brought to court are said by officials to be freer from the drunkenness element that formerly complicated trial for various offenses. With this drunkenness element reduced there is additional safety for society. There is less danger than an offender will be merely convicted of drunkenness and the other offense overlooked.

CHILDREN GAIN AS DRINK LOSES

The children are having a better chance under prohibition. Arrests of minors for all causes fell off slightly in Boston (about one per cent.) in the two prohibition years from the wet years' average; but the average of arrests of minors for drunkenness decreased 34 per cent. (Table 11d and e.)

Arrests of Young Children. Arrests in Boston of children under ten years of age have dropped almost one-half (45 per cent.) in the prohibition years; arrests of children ten years old, but under fifteen fell off 21 per cent. (Table 11). In 1921 the total number of arrests of children under fifteen years of age was the smallest in the ten years. Compared with the wet years' average this represents a saving of about 600 children of this tender age who should be in the home rather than within the arm of the law. (Table 11c.)

TABLE 11. Arrests of Youth in Boston

Year Ending Nov. 30	(a) Under 10 Years of Age	(b) Ten Years and Under 15 Years	(c) Total Under 15 Years	(d) Minors All Causes	(e) Drunkenness
1912	328	1,718	2,046	8,024	935
1913	377	1,917	2,294	8,617	920
1914	378	2,050	2,428	8,579	664
1915	380	2,048	2,428	8,088	495
1916	392	2,004	2,396	7,730	497
1917	362	2,160	2,522	8,596	514
1918	339	2,533	2,872	10,001	620
1919	309	2,172	2,481	9,660	480
1920	197	1,631	1,828	7,997	326
1921	201	1,607	1,808	8,724	546
Average 7 wet years 1912-1918..	365	2,061	2,426	8,519	663
Average 2 dry years 1920-1921..	199	1,619	1,818	8,360	436
Decrease	45%	21%	25%	1%	34%

(Annual statistics from reports Boston Police Commissioner)

Neglected, Wayward and Delinquent Children. Arrests of the groups known as the neglected, wayward and delinquent children accounted for in Boston police reports are decreasing in numbers (Table 12). The neglected and wayward reached in 1921 their lowest point in a decade; the number of delinquent children was the lowest since 1912. There were 539 fewer delinquent children on the police records in 1921 than the average for the seven wet years (Table 12c).

The Drunkenness Factor. Drunkenness appears to be vanishing as a present factor in dependency and neglect of children placed in the care of the City Division of Child Welfare. The "dependent" children are without parents or

their parents are temporarily unable to care for them. "Neglected" children are received from the courts—the result of broken homes or of improper environment.[18]

TABLE 12. Offenses of Children in Boston

In Police Records

Year Ending Nov. 30—	Children Neglected	Children Wayward	Delinquent	Total
1912	208	19	2,229	2,456
1913	252	9	2,673	2,934
1914	218	15	2,903	3,136
1915	217	20	2,810	3,047
1916	208	16	2,943	3,167
1917	190	16	3,121	3,327
1918	148	13	3,642	3,803
1919	175	20	3,061	3,256
1920	106	8	2,413	2,527
1921	71	7	2,364	2,442
Average 7 wet years 1912-1918	206	15	2,903	3,124
Average 2 dry years 1920-1921	88	7	2,388	2,484
Decrease	57%	53%	17%	20%

(Annual statistics from reports Boston Police Commissioner)

The table (Table 13) presenting the change in parental drunkenness is worth study. It shows that during the wet years there were, on the average, 18 drunken fathers to every 100 dependent children. In the two dry years there was barely one drunken father to 100 children. In 1921, when hard times evidently brought an exceptional number of dependent children, drunkenness was recorded of but 2 fathers to 282 children, less than one per cent.

There was no drunkenness of mothers of dependent children in either 1920 or 1921; in the wet years, 3 of each 100 children had drunken mothers.

There were no dependent children in 1919, 1920 or 1921 with both parents intemperate; in the wet years, 2 of each 100 children had drunken father and mother.

Undoubtedly, if the cases were further analyzed, former drinking would have been found in part responsible for the dependent children of 1921.

Among the neglected children admitted to the Boston Division of Child Welfare the disappearance of the drunkenness factor is still more marked.

There was no drunkenness in fathers in 1920 or in 1921; in the wet years, on the average, one child in every 4 had a drunken father.

There were no drunken mothers in 1920; only one in 1921.

No cases were reported in 1921 in which both parents were intemperate; in the wet years one child in every 7 had two drunken parents.

In Massachusetts the average number of neglected children annually before the lower courts in the seven wet years was 1,005 and was showing a nearly constant tendency to increase. In 1921 there were but 724 cases.

The Juvenile Court. The Boston Juvenile Court in 1921 had the smallest number of new cases in the decade, with the exception of 1916 (Table 15). The

[18]City Document, No. 14, 1921, p. 2.

average for the seven wet years was 1,072; for the two prohibition years, 930, a decrease of 13 per cent.

TABLE 13. Children Admitted to Boston City Division of Child Welfare

Year	Dependent Children				Neglected Children			
		Parental Drunkenness				Parental Drunkenness		
	Total	Father	Mother	Both Parents	Total	Father	Mother	Both Parents
1912[17]	117	25	8	2	35	6	10	4
1913	137	41	1	4	32	6	7	1
1914	139	23	8	5	38	5	2	8
1915	147	29	6	2	34	14	4	4
1916	191	23	7	2	32	10	3	8
1917	203	40	5	3	32	11	3	9
1918	197	21	1	5	28	5	4	0
1919	181	15	5	0	29	4	0	0
1920	168	3	0	0	23	0	0	0
1921	282	2	0	0	7	0	1	0
Proportion of total cases 7 wet years 1912-18..		18%	3%	2%		24%	14%	14%
Proportion of total cases 2 dry years 1920-21..		1.1%	0	0		0	3%	0

(An. statistics from Rpts. Boston Children's Institutions Dept., now Child Welfare Dept.)

[17]Year ends Jan. 31 of following calendar year.

The number of neglected children before the Juvenile Court decreased 52 per cent. in the prohibition years. There were only 40 of them in 1921, as compared with an annual average of 118 in the wet years, while in the preceding unemployment year, 1915, there had been 138 neglected children before this court.

TABLE 14. Neglected Children Before the Lower Courts of Massachusetts

Year Ending Sept. 30—		Year Ending Sept. 30—	
1912	989	1917	1,013
1913	993	1918	1,062
1914	963	1919	835
1915	995	1920	847
1916	1,023	1921	724†

(Annual statistics from Reports of Massachusetts Department of Corrections)

There is some increase in juvenile delinquents in the State but this, Mr. Herbert C. Parsons, Deputy Probation Commissioner, informs the writer, is due to enlarging facilities of lower courts for handling juvenile cases, which results in bringing to the courts cases which were formerly handled by the police or otherwise. For this reason the Massachusetts figures are not comparable and are not included here. The Boston figures (Table 15) represent a consistent policy and therefore are the best index of what is happening to juvenile delinquency under prohibition.

Mr. Parsons says that the decrease in juvenile delinquency in Boston is conspicuously due to better conditions in the homes resulting from prohibition. Probation officers find that school attendance improves; children are better fed, better clothed with warmer clothing in winter and rubbers for days of rain and snow.

School attendance officials agree in these conclusions from their experience with school children. They find that attendance at school is more regular and the

children come in better condition. The calls for clothing and shoes for school children when there is need are fewer than formerly, even in the hard times of the past winter (1921-22).

TABLE 15. JUVENILE OFFENDERS

Year Ending Sept. 30—	Boston Juvenile Court Cases Begun[18]	Neglected[19] Children
1912	1,056	152
1913	1,177	180
1914	1,120	132
1915	967	138
1916	783	84
1917	1,097	84
1918	1,308	60
1919	1,364	66
1920	983	72
1921	878†	40†
Average 7 wet years 1912-1918	1,072	118
Average 2 dry years 1920-1921	930	56
Decrease	13%	52%

(Annual Statistics from Reports Mass. Department of Corrections)

Individual cases reveal in picturesque fashion some home changes affecting the children. Funds in two sections in and near Boston formerly kept for buying clothing for children who could not attend school for lack of them, in the early winter of 1922 had no applicants. A mission in one of the former saloon sections of the city reports that "the low aspect of life in the home is gradually disappearing, and many of the men are taking an interest and pride in seeing their children on an equal footing with their thrifty neighbors. There has been a greater interest in the homes as a result of closing the saloons. Our visitors find that a larger number of people spend their evenings at home who formerly spent them in the saloon. A greater interest is developed in the homes and for the provision of those in the home."[20] Sober fathers at home tend to better discipline; the drinking father, and especially the one who was "sent up" for drunkenness, was often a seriously demoralizing factor in the moral training of the children.

The Alcoholic Home and Delinquency. Healy in his study of a thousand juvenile delinquents whose average age was about 15½ years found drunkenness in the environment in 311 cases (31 per cent.).[21] He pointed out the different features of a defective environment which may be caused by parental alcoholism which have a bearing on the careers of boys and girls such as "poverty, lack of control, neglect of proper nourishment, clothing or other hygienic conditions; crowded housing with all its miserable physical and moral incidents; neglect of attention to schooling and mental and moral development; irrational discipline . . . immodest behavior and use of obscene language on the part of a parent

[18]Represents individuals.
[19]Before the court.
[20]Personal communication. March 6, 1922.
[21]William Healy: *The Individual Delinquent.* 1914. pp. 264-266.

which we have frequently found to be one of the main causes of a girl going wrong; lowered moral inhibitions; . . . quarreling and bickering and development of a grudge in a home. . . . All these things and still others have to be reckoned with when there is alcoholism of a parent."

It is not to be supposed that all this would disappear at once; human habits and nature do not change as rapidly as that. Yet a decrease of 20 per cent. in the prohibition years in the number of cases of young children handled by the police department, a decrease of 13 per cent. in new juvenile court cases are augury of what may be hoped for with still better observance and enforcement of the prohibition law.

HOME LIFE

Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children. How home conditions bettered by prohibition mean gain for children is shown by the district and state reports for 1920 and 1921 of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Not all the districts saw conspicuous improvement but the following comments, each from a different district, illustrate some of the reasons why juvenile delinquency cases decrease.

"An outstanding feature of the year's work (1920) is that the average number of elements per case is much smaller than in past years. I believe the reason is the absence of liquor; intemperance always brings a number of other factors into the situation mainly physical neglect and non-support. . . . Out of 147 cases [in 1920], in only 4 was the element of drunkenness found; in 1917, out of 133 cases there were 70 containing the element of intemperance."

"Although there has been no decrease in the number of families, there has been a sharp decline in the factors of drunkenness, physical neglect, and non-support, making the removal of children from their homes less imperative. Better clothed, better fed, happier children have to be seen to be appreciated."

"In no instance have the reports of intemperance cases this year reached more than one-third of the 1916 figures."

"Drink is becoming unusual as one of the principal elements in a family situation."

The statements were made in the reports of 1920.

A year later, in 1921, the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children analyzed 4,352 cases handled during the year. Intemperance as a factor occurred in 734 or 16.8 per cent. A similar analysis of 2,056 cases in 1916 had found intemperance a factor in 47.7 per cent.

Thus intemperance "has passed from second to sixth place on our list [of causes] . . . as a factor in our work has decreased to a little more than a third of what it was five years ago."*

To supplement these facts a special study was made by the Society in 1921 of 144 families known in 1916 as suffering primarily from intemperance in a year generally prosperous and little disturbed socially and industrially by the war. The families were distributed quite evenly over 9 counties. In 1916 in the 144 families there were 210 known alcoholics; in 1921, but 94.

*Annual Rept. Mass. Soc'y. for Prevention of Cruelty to Children. 1921. p. 20.

In 115, or 79 per cent., of the families in 1921 definite improvement was found in the following respects:

88 in total income
27 in general health
66 in physical care of children
28 in medical care of children
36 in moral care of children
74 in general home conditions

In general these improvements were frankly attributed to the effect of prohibition.

"We can say in the light of our experience and study," says the 1921 annual report, "that national prohibition has brought very definite tangible results to child and family life, and has substantially reduced intemperance as a cause of family break-down and child neglect."

Prior to July 1, 1919, when national war prohibition became effective, there were removed from these families 167 children with only 47 returned. After July 1, 1919, there were but 16 removed and 30 returned. "That is, before July 1, 1919, four times as many children were received as returned, while thereafter we have secured the return of twice as many children as have been removed."

The aggregate of persons sentenced to institutions and placed on probation for non-support in domestic relations cases was the lowest in 1920 and 1921 of the eight years for which comparable statistics are available. The decrease in commitments to institutions is not significant, for the policy in such cases in recent years is to avoid such commitments if possible and to compel support where due. The increase in collections demonstrates the success of the policy. Taking together the commitments and the probation cases for non-support, the average for the five wet years was 2,337; for the two dry years, 1,611.

TABLE 15a. Non-Support in Massachusetts

Year Ending Sept. 30—	(a) Committed to Institutions for Non-Support	(b) Placed on Probation	Total	(c) Collections
1914	779	1,302	2,041	$189,830.67
1915	860	1,328	2,188	221,129.12
1916	783	1,756	2,539	303,009.01
1917	789	1,991	2,780	407,057.63
1918	432	1,665	2,097	485,339.18
1919	326	1,632	1,958	635,887.42
1920	179	1,253	1,432	838,031.75
1921	311†	1,479†	1,790†	821,378.11
Average 5 wet years 1914-18			2,337	
Average 2 dry years 1920-21			1,611	
Decrease			31%	

a from office of Mass. Dept. of Corrections.
b & c from Herbert C. Parsons, Deputy Commissioner of Probation. There is probably some small duplication of cases in the "total" column but not enough to change the comparison materially.

Boston Family Welfare Society. The carefully kept records of the Boston Family Welfare Society (formerly the Associated Charities) reveal some impres-

sive facts (Table 16). The factors in family problems are studied and recorded in each case. The percentage of cases in which intemperance was a factor fell off about nine-tenths between 1917 and the two prohibition years 1920 and 1921. In 1917 intemperance appeared as a factor in about one family in every four (27 per cent.); in 1921-1922 in about one family in every twenty-five (4.1 per cent.).

The Family Welfare Society cared for 4,154 families in the year ending April 30, 1922, which included an entire year of serious unemployment and a winter when continued business depression had made more demands than for several years (see p. 44). But in the previous year of unemployment, 1915, the Society cared for 4,847 families.

TABLE 16. Boston Family Welfare Society (*Formerly Associated Charities*)

Prevalence of Intemperance in Cases Helped

	Year Ending Sept. 30				Ending Apr. 30	
	1917	1918	1919	1920	*1921	1922
Families under care	3,589	3,124	3,264	2,969	3,057	4,154
Intemperance a factor	984	627	347	71	73	174
Percentage of intemperance...	27	20	10.6	2.5	2.5	4.1

In six of the fourteen districts of the Society, there were no cases in January, 1922, in which intemperance was a factor. The intemperance cases were chiefly in sections where saloons or breweries had formerly been numerous. The staff of the Society, in discussing the question, agreed that many instances were cited in which family life was infinitely improved since prohibition; that in most cases where men continued to drink they had become addicted in the old license days. This means that fewer young men are taking to drink, partly perhaps because of the nature of drink sold illegally which does not appeal to their liking. It was agreed that some bootlegging was apparently taking place, carried on in part by men who would not engage in it if they had steady work [this perhaps explains the rising percentage of cases in the winter of 1922 in which intemperance was a factor]; the period of unemployment was also considered partly responsible for any increase in intemperance, but that intemperance was more a problem in well-to-do groups since only the more prosperous could afford to pay the price for drink of even reasonably pure quality.[23]

F. C. Moore of the Morgan Memorial Bureau, reported, March 24, 1922:

"In 1917 and previous years before prohibition was put into effect, about 25 per cent. of families helped through our Welfare and Employment Bureau were those whose circumstances had been brought about by the indulgence of liquor.

"During the past six months only 2 per cent. of those who were helped in any way by our Institution had to be helped because of drink.

"There is also a great change brought about in connection with the men who apply to us for clothing. Previous to prohibition, the average number of men applying to us Monday mornings for clothing, shoes, etc., was ten. They were in this condition because they had pawned everything they had and were just getting over a debauch and desired to be given a chance to get back their clothing, etc., so they could go to work.

*Seven months ending April 30.

[23]From statement of Stockton Raymond, secretary, prepared for John F. Moors, president, in preparation for hearing by Com. on Legal Affairs concerning the Massachusetts Prohibition Enforcement Bill. Feb. 16, 1922.

"During the past six months we have not averaged more than two persons who have come to us on Monday mornings in this condition."*

PROHIBITION AND HEALTH

What of health conditions under prohibition as shown by mortality?

Boston Alcoholism Mortality. To begin with the cases of death most closely related to the use of alcoholic beverages, there were but 70 deaths from alcoholism in Boston in 1921. The average of the two dry years was 50; of six wet years (1913-1918), 134 (Footnote 24 Table 17). The 1921 death loss from alcoholism was higher tnan that of 1920 due to conditions already noted as responsible for an increase of arrests for drunkenness in Boston, but still far lower than in any entire license year.

Deaths of women from alcoholism indicate even more clearly the possibilities in checking this cause of death. While the total number of deaths from alcoholism dropped 62 per cent. in the two dry years, among women it dropped 80 per cent.

Dr. William C. Woodward, until recently (Feb., 1922) Health Commissioner of Boston, thought that the most significant light on the effects of prohibition on health could be obtained by grouping certain causes known to be affected by alcohol, as deaths from alcoholism, accidents, non-accidental homicides, and suicides. Table 17 brings the Boston figures for these groups together. It shows a decrease of 33 per cent. in the total deaths from these four causes in the prohibition years as compared with the average license year, a gain of 345 lives.

TABLE 17. Deaths from Alcoholism and Certain Related Causes in Boston

Year Ending Dec. 31—	Alcoholism Total	Alcoholism Women	Accidents	Non-Accidental Homicide	Suicide	Total Four Causes
1912[24]	229	70	901	31	113	1,274
1913	160	43	734	36	104	1,034
1914	109	24	745	27	132	1,013
1915	109	27	680	37	140	966
1916	161	37	790	30	123	1,104
1917	166	44	759	27	135	1,087
1918	103	22	772	30	122	1,027
1919	53	7	634	42	105	834
1920	31	3	510	38	100	679
1921	70	10	507	30	102	709
Average 6 wet years 1913-1918.	134	33	746	31	126	1,038
Average 2 dry years 1920-1921.	50	6	508	34	101	693
Decrease	62%	80%	32%	9% Inc.[25]	19%	33%

(Annual statistics from Reports of Division of Vital Statistics, Boston Health Dept.)

[24]There is clearly a discrepancy between the total deaths from alcoholism reported by the city and by the state for this year. As it has been impossible to discover which figure is incorrect, they are included in the tables as printed in the official reports and 1912 is omitted from the comparison tables.

[25]Note that in 1921 deaths from homicide were fewer than in 1920 and also fewer than the average for the wet years.

The two largest causes of death by accident in Boston are falls and motor vehicles. In 1921 they were responsible for 44 of each 100 deaths by accident.

*From *The Good Samaritan*, official bulletin of Morgan Memorial, Apr., 1922.

Deaths from falls have decreased in 1921 even when compared with the previous year of industrial depression, 1915, but as there have been in the meantime many new regulations governing industrial safety, it is impossible to estimate whether increasing sobriety has had any influence in decreasing mortality from falls.

The number of deaths due to motor vehicles has naturally largely increased within ten years because of the growing use of automobiles. But these vehicles caused but 90 deaths in Boston in 1920 and 104 in 1921 as compared with 114 in 1918 and 129 in 1919. In the state of Massachusetts, the number of persons killed or injured by motor vehicles in 1921 in proportion to the number of registered automobiles and motor cycles was the smallest of the decade. The report of a special State Commission* says that this decrease had probably been "due in part to better police protection and in no small measure to the activity of the registrar of motor vehicles with regard to the suspension and revocation of licenses and rights."

Massachusetts Motor Vehicle Accidents and Fatalities

Year	Persons killed per 1,000 motor vehicles registered	Persons injured per 100,000 motor vehicles registered
1912	2.57	3.55
1913	2.69	4.18
1914	2.68	4.69
1915	2.62	5.52
1916	2.14	6.19
1917	2.36	3.92
1918	2.42	4.16
1919	2.23	6.24
1920	1.50	6.62
1921	1.43	3.08

These facts are included here because of the impression which has gone abroad that the automobile accident situation has been more serious in Massachusetts under prohibition. That impression is probably due to failure to compare the casualties and deaths with the mounting number of motor vehicles. Among the cases serious enough for offenders to be penalized by revocation or suspension of licenses or rights, the proportion in which liquor was a factor was the same in 1920 and 1921, and there are no comparable figures for preceding years.

The latest figures available from the Mass. Dept. of Public Works are for the month of May:

Suspensions and Revocations

	Total	Due to liquor	Pct. due to liq'r
May, 1921	266	101	38%
May, 1922	675	210	31%

Suicides in Boston in 1920 and 1921 were fewest of the decade, less by thirty or more than in the previous unemployment period, 1914-15.

ALCOHOLISM IN THE HOSPITALS

The Massachusetts General Hospital reported in 1920 it received only about "three or four cases a month now" diagnosed as alcoholic. The resident physician

*Mass Senate Document No. 285. Report of the Commission appointed relative to the expediency of requiring the owners of motor vehicles to carry liability insurance.

stated, Apr. 29, 1922, that this situation remained practically unchanged, two or three cases a month representing the facts as nearly as could be determined. Emergency alcoholic cases are not sent to this hospital to any great extent, so that present conditions do not represent any change from pre-prohibition conditions.

The Boston Dispensary which in 1920 reported only two patients under the influence of liquor in six months had nothing to add to these figures in 1921.

Both the City Hospital and the Washingtonian Home for Inebriates had a larger number of alcoholic admissions in 1921 than in 1919 or 1920. This increase, as in other institutions, evidently reflects the operations of an organized illicit traffic and imperfect law enforcement.

TABLE 18. Deaths from Alcoholism and Certain Related Causes in the State of Massachusetts

Year Ending Dec. 30—	Alcoholism Total	Non-Accidental Homicides	Suicide	Total
1912[26]	197	92	478	767
1913	336	111	486	933
1914	299	106	495	900
1915	186	113	515	814
1916	212	115	455	782
1917	210	106	493	809
1918	111	93	492	696
1919	68	102	445	615
1920	59	78	391	528
1921	97†	109†	473†	689†
Average 6 wet years 1913-1918.	225	107	489	822
Average 2 dry years 1920-1921.	78	93	432	608
Decrease	65%	13%	11%	26%

(Annual Statistics from Reports of Vital Statistics of Massachusetts)

Boston City Hospital. In the City Hospital cases, the increased number may also be due to the fact that the alcoholic patients are clearly "sick" from their liquor, more so than formerly, indicating that the liquors now sold illegally produce more acute effects. The City Hospital patients are practically all brought in by the police. The drinkers found unconscious or obviously sick from drink are, therefore, taken by the police to the hospital before they are to the police station.

There were only 23 cases of delirium tremens among the City Hospital admissions in 1921, the smallest number of six years (1916-1921) comprising the comparable period of these hospital statistics (Table 19c). The special delirium tremens ward equipped for this class of cases just before prohibition came has been abandoned for that purpose. The decrease is explained as due to the fact that delirium tremens when it occurs ordinarily follows protracted drinking. The present drinkers taken to the hospital can neither obtain enough liquor or stand enough of the kind now sold to reach the delirium tremens stage.

Saturday is no longer the week's busy night, says Dr. E. W. Wilson, Assistant Superintendent. The Saturday night congregations in the open saloons used to bring the ambulances rolling to the hospital with special frequency. Now that

[26]See Note [24], Table 13.

liquor is hard to get, the drinker who wants it takes it when he can get it, and the hospital alcoholic cases are more evenly distributed through the week.

The men brought in are mostly "repeaters;" in age, "youngish," on the average from about 26 to 37 years old. A few appear to be new drinkers, but the cases are largely drinkers who acquired the drink habit in the old saloon days. For the most part they are of the "floater" type, who spend their time on park benches and street corners. This confirms statements made elsewhere that the family man has largely dropped out from the drinkers' ranks.

The woman drunkard has mostly disappeared from the City Hospital cases. She used to be sent in from the cheaper hotels and dance halls.

Washingtonian Home. Admissions to the Washingtonian Home increased in both 1920 and 1921 over 1919. But even in 1921 the number is nearly a third lower than the average of the seven license years (Table 19). The average for the two dry years is 42 per cent lower than the average for the seven wet years.

Admissions in 1919 (six months prohibition) were the fewest since 1902; the number in 1920 (prohibition) was the lowest since 1899; the 694 admissions in 1921 were the fewest (except for 1919 and 1920) since 1905.

TABLE 19. ALCOHOLIC ADMISSIONS[28]

	(a) Washington'n Home Yr. End'g Dec. 31	(b) Foxboro & Norfolk Yr. End'g Nov. 30 Total	(c) Boston City Hospital Yr. End'g Dec. 31 Alcoholism	(c) Boston City Hospital Yr. End'g Dec. 31 Delirium Tremens
1912	946	955	417	10
1913	939	1,226	380	21
1914	998	557 (6 mos.)	499	12
1915	953	1,228	479	7
1916	1,061	1,080	1,032[31]	173
1917	1,053	1,021	1,153	177
1918	736	543	540	70
1919	565[29]	516[30]	564	71
1920	410[29]	——	552	40
1921	694	——	1,272	23
Average 7 wet years 1912-1919	955		——[4]	—[4]
Average 2 dry years 1920-1921	552			
Decrease	42.2%			

(Annual Statistics from Report of Superintendent of Washington Home for 1921; Annual Reports of Superintendent of Foxborough and Norfolk)

The full significance of present cases of admissions to the Washingtonian Home under prohibition is emphasized by the fact that there is now no separate State Hospital for inebriates. All through the "wet" period covered by the table of admissions to the Washingtonian Home, when the Home was receiving an

[28] The figures of the Washingtonian Home and Foxborough-Norfolk Institution include both alcoholic and drug patients as the Washingtonian statistics do not give these separately. About one-fourth of the Norfolk patients (1915-1918) were drug inebriates.

[29] Exclusive of Norfolk patients cared for: 87 in 1918 and 420 in 1919.

[30] Beginning Oct., 1918, cared for in other institutions, largely the Washingtonian Home. Discontinued as an institution for inebriates.

[31] At the City Hospital beginning with 1916 a change was made in handling the alcoholic cases. The statistics 1916-1921 represent a uniform method of entering cases. As they are not comparable during the seven wet years no averages are shown here.

annual average of 955 patients, a state institution at Foxborough whose patients were transferred June 1, 1914, to the new Norfolk State Hospital was receiving approximately the same average number as also shown in Table 20. The Norfolk Hospital was taken over for Federal purposes in October, 1918, and its patients cared for by the Washingtonian Home and the Massachusetts Home and Hospital during the remainder of 1918 and 1919.

There is now no separate state institution for the treatment of inebriates, so that the Washingtonian Home now draws not only from the patients that formerly came to it but also from those who formerly would have gone to the State Hospital. The 1921 report of the Chicago Washingtonian Home (p. 9) calls attention to the probability that there may be an increase in admissions to that institution in the future "because so many of the institutions for the cure of inebriety have closed their doors within a year or two." Very likely admissions to the Boston Washingtonian Home may continue to increase and even to reach pre-prohibition levels while former drinkers live and continue to drink. Formerly in Massachusetts there were, for the treatment of alcoholic inebriates, not only the State Hospital admitting as many as the Washingtonian Home, but also twelve smaller private institutions. Today these are all closed except the Washingtonian Home and three of the small institutions.

CONTRIBUTORY HEALTH EVIDENCE

There are certain diseases whose mortality is known to be excessive in habitual drinkers, as cirrhosis of the liver, tuberculosis and pneumonia. The death-rates of these also show a suggestive downward curve accompanying war restrictions and prohibition of the liquor traffic, although allowance must always be made for the effect of general health campaigns. These diseases are cited here as collateral evidence rather than as direct proof of prohibition's benefits.

TABLE 20. Mortality from Cirrhosis of the Liver

Year Ending Dec. 31—	Cirrhosis of the Liver Boston	Mass.
1912	77	283
1913	69	335
1914	70	244
1915	94	302
1916	107	360
1917	91	325
1918	67*	256*
1919	44	181
1920	38	196
1921	55	160†
Av. 6 wet years 1912-17	84	308
Av. 2 dry years 1920-21	46	178
Decrease	45%	42%

(Annual statistics Reports Boston Dept. of Health and Mass Vital Statistics.)

Cirrhosis of the liver, so frequently found in alcoholics that its prevalence is usually considered one indication of the prevalence of intemperance, began to drop during the war restrictions on alcoholic liquors (Table 20). In Boston, the average

*Influenza year. Statistics omitted from comparison.

number of deaths from this disease fell off 45 per cent in the prohibition years as compared with the wet years; in Massachusetts the decrease was 42 per cent.—from an average total of 308 deaths in the wet years to 178 in the prohibition years.

Tuberculosis has shown a marked drop (Table 21). Persistent educational and other preventive work and improved methods of treatment were slowly pulling down the tuberculosis mortality per 100,000 population in Boston. Yet in 1916 and 1917 this rate was higher than in the three preceding years. In 1912-17 tuberculosis carried off annually on the average 173 people from each 100,000 population. In 1920 and 1921 the average rate was only 121.

All during the six wet years tuberculosis caused never less than 10.1 deaths out of each 100 deaths in the city; the average was 10.3 (Table 21c). In 1920 and 1921 it caused but 8.3 of each 100 deaths.

TABLE 21. Tuberculosis Mortality

	Boston			Massachusetts	
Year Ending Dec. 31—	a Total Deaths All Forms	b Rate per 100,000 Pop.	c Pctg. of Deaths from All Causes	d Total Deaths	e Rate per 100,000 Pop.
1912	1,272	178.6	10.9	5,067	144.3
1913	1,260	174.0	10.6	5,049	141.1
1914	1,264	171.7	10.6	5,061	138.9
1915	1,222	163.3	10.1	5,047	136.7
1916	1,318	176.6	10.3	5,422	143.6
1917	1,312	175.7	10.3	5,409	140.9
1918	1,367*	182.9*	7.8*	5,969*	152.8*
1919	1,147	153.4	9.8	4,920	128.2
1920	956	127.2	8.2	4,400	114.1
1921	877	115.0	8.5	3,864†	99.4[1]
Av. 6 wet years 1912-1917..	1,274	173.3	10.4	5,175	140.9
Av. 2 dry years 1920-1921..	916	121.1	8.3	4,132	106.7
Decrease	28%			20%	

(Statistics of total deaths and population rates from Annual Reports Statistician Boston Health Dept. and Mass. Registrar of Vital statistics, Columns a, b, d, e).

Pneumonia, another disease of excessive mortality in drinkers, also shows a marked drop in 1920 and 21 from the wet period. The mortality rate has shown a fluctuating tendency, yet is so much lower in 1920 and 1921 that the facts as they stand at present are included here for completeness of record.

Whatever the reason, the fact is that in Boston the average death-rate from pneumonia in 1920 and 1921 (148.5) has dropped 26 per cent below the average of the six wet years (200.4), which was also the death-rate in the year 1913. The City Health Report for 1913 said of this rate (p. 72) that the pneumonia mortality had then remained practically stable at this point for the preceding ten years. For some reason pneumonia in 1920 and 1921 (as well as in 1919) broke beyond all precedent of nearly twenty years the average death rate from this disease. Lobar pneumonia, which has a larger proportion of adult cases showed an even more marked drop in its mortality rates.

[1] Death rate for Massachusetts, 1921, estimated on basis of 3,885,836 population.
*Influenza year. Statistics omitted from comparisons.

TABLE 22. Boston Pneumonia Mortality

Year	All Forms — Total	All Forms — Total Rate per 100,000 Pop.		Lobar Pneumonia — Total	Lobar Pneumonia — Death Rate per 100,000 Pop.
1912	1,405	197.2	Av. 1906-1910	952[32]	147.9[32]
1913	1,452	200.4	Av. 1911-1915	934[32]	129.4[32]
1914	1,385	188.1			
1915	1,456	194.5			
1916	1,631	214.5		1,012	135.6
1917	1,605	207.7		1,098	147.0
1918	2,376*	302.9*		1,539*	205.9*
1919	965	129.0		595	79.5
1920	1,361	181.0		672	89.4
1921	883	116.0		457	60.0

(Statistics 1912-19 from Report Boston Health Dept. 1919, 1920, and for 1921 from Monthly Bulletin of Health Dept., Dec., 1921.)

In the State of Massachusetts, pneumonia mortality shows a similar downward trend, whatever be its explanation.

TABLE 23. Massachusetts Pneumonia Mortality

Year	Total Deaths	Death Rate per 100,000 Populat'n	Lobar Pneumonia — Total	Lobar Pneumonia — Rate per 100,000 Pop.
1912	5,965	169.8[1]	3,874	110.3[34]
1913	6,112	170.8	3,315	92.7
1914	5,987	164.3	3,393	93.1
1915	6,448	174.6	3,736	101.2
1916	6,567	173.9	4,013	106.3
1917	6,293	163.8	4,028	104.9
1918	14,626*	374.3*	10,339*	264.6*
1919	5,279	137.7	2,614	68.2
1920	6,347	164.8	2,842	73.8
1921	4,060†	104.5[33]	1,822†	46.8[33]

(Statistics from annual reports of Mass. Registrar of Vital Statistics unless otherwise indicated.)

General Mortality. Boston and Massachusetts have shared in the general marked decline in mortality, beginning with 1919, which has prevailed throughout the United States. In both city and state in 1921 the total deaths were the lowest of the decade, and the death-rates were the lowest recorded. There were sixty-six hundred (6,672) fewer deaths in Massachusetts in 1921 than in the average wet year. (Table 24.)

The total mortality in Boston fell even more than that of the state. The change in the date-rate was about the same. (Table 25).

"What such figures mean in lives saved or at least in deaths postponed," says the Boston *Monthly Bulletin* of the Department (Dec., 1921), "can best be seen by considering the number of deaths that have occurred in 1921 had the death-rate

[32]Average of five years.
*Influenza year. Omitted from comparison.
[34]Estimated on population 3,511,510.
[33]Estimated on population 3,885,836.

TABLE 24. General Mortality in Massachusetts

Year	Total Deaths	Death Rate per 1,000 Pop.
1912	52,400	14.92*
1913	53,402	14.90
1914	52,978	14.53
1915	53,131	14.38
1916	56,366	14.92
1917	56,628	14.74
1918	78,842	20.2
1919	52,345	13.64
1920	53,632	13.92
1921	47,780	12.3[1]
Average 6 wet years 1912-1917	54,150	14.73
Average 2 dry years 1920-21	50,706	13.11
Decrease	6%	

(Statistics from Annual Reports on Vital Statistics of Mass.)

TABLE 25. Boston. General Mortality and Infant Mortality

Year Ending Dec. 31—	Deaths from All Causes: All Causes	Deaths from All Causes: Death Rate per 1,000 Population	Deaths of Infants Under One Year of Age: Total	Deaths of Infants Under One Year of Age: Rate pr. 1,000 Registered Live Births
1912	11,643	16.17[2]	2,186	115.74[2]
1913	11,839	16.34[2]	2,111	109.79[2]
1914	11,831	16.06[1]	2,007	103.12[1]
1915	12,021	16.06[1]	2,045	103.68[1]
1916	12,760	16.78[3]	2,055	104.88[3]
1917	12,728	16.48[3]	1,965	98.96[3]
1918	17,447	22.24[3]	2,298	114.54[3]
1919	11,689	15.63[4]	1,818	96.80[4]
1920	11,601	15.44[5]	1,966	100.85[5]
1921	10,217	13.48[5]	1,495	77.22[5]
Average 6 wet years 1912-17	12,137	16.31	2,061	106.02
Average 2 dry years 1920-21	10,909	14.46	1,730	89.03
Decrease	10%		16%	

continued as high as during stated earlier periods. . . . Had the death-rate been as high as in 1911, 12,941 would have occurred," *i. e.*, 2,724 more than actually occurred in 1921.

Even when 1920 and 1921 are compared there were 1,483 fewer deaths in 1921 than there would have been had the 1920 death-rate continued. "The most striking feature of the mortality tables," continues the *Bulletin,* "is the diminished death-rate of children under five years," a saving of 696 lives as compared with 1920. The infant mortality rate (77.22 deaths under one year per 1,000 live births) was the lowest on record. (Table 25.)

It may be of some significance to general health and to child health that the

*The lowest recorded rate to this time.
[1]Estimated on basis of 3,885,836 population. (Table 24).
[2]Report City Health Department, 1915.
[3]Report City Health Department, 1913.
[3]Report City Health Department, 1918.
[4]Report City Health Department, 1919.
[5]Report City Health Department, 1921. Monthly Bulletin, Dec., 1921.

daily milk consumption in Boston in 1921 was the highest of the decade in spite of business depression and "hard times" and the continued high price of milk at about 16 cents a quart. The relation of increased use of milk to better health is suggested by the report of the Massachusetts Special Commission on Necessaries of Life (Jan., 1922), which pointed out (p. 56) that greater milk consumption contributes to greater physical vigor and improves resistance to disease.

TABLE 26. Daily Consumption of Milk in Boston

1912	271,403 quarts	1917	342,244 quarts
1913	302,886 "	1918	342,451 "
1914	308,880 "	1919	333,506 "
1915	333,650 "	1920	358,853 "
1916	347,735 "	1921	382,568 "

(Statistics from Annual Reports of Milk Inspector Boston Health Dept.)

The retail price of milk in Boston had advanced from 9 cents in 1913 to 15-17 cents in 1921.[34] Figures for the state indicate that the price did not begin to rise until 1916. Yet with milk costing in 1921 six or seven cents a quart more than in 1915, the per capita consumption was enough larger in 1921 than in 1915 to represent a gain of about 8 quarts a month for each family of four persons, enough to add a glass of milk a day to the diet of a child or other person. The increased use of milk in 1921, despite the price far higher than in 1915, suggests, at least, that in this prohibition year of unemployment, the homes of Boston had money with which to respond measurably to the campaign teaching the importance of using more milk.

Whatever may have been the cause of the remarkable drop in death-rates beginning in the year 1919, half of which was in the prohibition régime, the continued decline and record low rates suggest that some factor other than ordinary health prevention activities was at work. The influenza epidemic of 1918 may have had some effect upon the rates of succeeding years. The epidemic continued into 1919, yet that year shows a decline in death-rate. If feeble lives which would naturally have ended later were cut off by influenza, some offsetting increase of mortality might have been expected on the part of those who survived but weakened by the disease. But the death-rate declined.

The lower mortality of 1919 and 1920 has been attributed to the high wages affording better living conditions; but 1921 was a period of serious unemployment, yet death-rates continued to fall. Further, even during the period of employment and high wages of 1919 and early 1920, there were as an offset to high wages, the crowded living conditions in the cities which would be expected to push up death-rates in such diseases as tuberculosis. On the contrary these rates fell.

Without attempting the impossible—the determination of the extent to which prohibition has contributed to better health and lower mortality, it is fair that it should be given due credit as a factor. Money saved from the saloon has been available for better homes, food, clothing, more recreation, more attention to dental and medical care. These are matters of repeated observation by physicians.

[34]Report Special Commission on Necessaries of Life. Mass. House Document. Number 1400 (1922) pp. 56, 119.

teachers, ministers and social workers. In these ways alone, aside from any gain to health in stopping or decreasing the alcoholic consumption of thousands of people, the physical and economic features of prohibition can hardly have failed to have some result in improving health and prolonging life.

ALCOHOLIC INSANITY DECREASES

One of the hoped-for results from prohibition was a decline in that part of insanity traceable to alcohol. This decline is already occurring in Massachusetts public hospitals for the insane.

The total number of first admissions to state hospitals for the insane and McLean Hospital in 1921 was 3,105. This was a smaller number than that of five of the seven wet years (Table 28). The rate of admissions of insane per hundred population of the state fell from 85.2 in 1915 to 79.9 in 1921.[35]

In 1920 there were 102 first admissions of cases of alcoholic insanity ("alcoholic psychoses"); in 1921, there were 151. But in the seven wet years the average number was 340. The rate of alcoholic admissions per 100,000 population in 1915 was 8; in 1921, it was 3.8.

It may be asked whether the decrease in admissions of alcoholic psychoses is not due to a change in diagnosis. Apparently not, as the proportion of first admissions known to be of intemperate habits has shown a similar decline.

TABLE 27. First Admissions to Massachusetts Public Institutions for Insane and McLean Hospital

Year Ending Sept. 30—	Total First Admissions	Alcoholic Psychoses		Intemperance One Cause of Insanity
		Total	Pct. of All Admissions	
1912	2,660	301	11.32	17.40
1913	3,108	367	11.81	18.46
1914	2,986	311	10.42	18.99
1915	3,147	299	9.50	17.06
1916	3,185[36]	289	9.08	16.48[36]
				Alcoholic Habits Intemperate
1917	4,159	511	12.29	27.67
1918	3,766	304	8.07	20.82
1919	3,816	296	7.76	18.06
1920	2,819	102	3.62	10.57
1921	3,105†	151†	4.86†	12.14†
Average 7 wet years 1912-18...	3,287	340	10.35	
Average 2 dry years 1920-21...	2,962	126	4.24	
Decrease	10%	62%		

(Annual statistics from Reports State Board of Insanity.)

[35]Based on population figures of 3,693,310 for 1915 and 3,885,836 for 1921.

[36]Robert Kelso, then secretary of the State Board of Charities, in 1918 called attention to the fact that in 1916 intemperance was one cause of insanity in 16.48 per cent of all first admissions and at this figure had cost the state in one year $566,599.80 for maintenance alone. The cost of alcoholic insanity was probably even greater than this because, as the official statistics show, for a decade before 1916 the percentages of admissions in which intemperance was a factor were even higher. The cases of chronic often incurable alcoholic psychoses had been almost 50 per cent higher in 1906.

The similarity of these statistics to those of New York compiled by its state statistican * is striking evidence of the gain for mental soundness that may reasonably be expected from well enforced and well observed prohibition.

VENEREAL DISEASE

New cases of venereal disease appear to be decreasing in Massachusetts. This class of diseases became reportable in Massachusetts in February, 1918. The number of physicians reporting is said to be increasing so that an increase in the number of cases might naturally be expected. Instead, there has been a steady decrease (Table 28). The cases reported are the infectious cases, therefore, are mostly in the early stages. It is said by state officials that physicians report seeing a smaller number of primary cases.

TABLE 28. VENEREAL DISEASES REPORTED IN MASSACHUSETTS

Year Ending Dec. 31—	Total Cases	Monthly Average
1918	10,965 (11 mos.)	996
1919	13,562	1,130
1920	10,211	851
1921	8,060†	672
1922, 3 mos. ending Mar. 31	1,668† (3 mos.)	556

(Mass. State Board of Health, Division of Communicable Diseases.)

Allowance must be made in the decrease for the influence of instruction and agitation against these diseases and for their early treatment. The prohibition factor can not be estimated, but there is a feeling among officials acquainted with the situation that prohibition can not have failed to exert some influence by reducing the factor of alcohol which impairs self-restraint. The decrease in Boston of arrests for offenses against chastity (Table 4.e) tends to strengthen this conclusion that with the drink factor reduced, natural decency and sense of propriety prevent some of the situations responsible for this class of disease.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The decade ending with two and one-half years of prohibition includes the war period with all the attendant economic changes. Severe depression in employment for lack of work in the latter part of 1914, which reached its maximum in Boston in March, 1915,[37] was succeeded by five years of demand for labor at an increasing wage scale which brought prosperity to the industrial groups that form so large a part of the population of Massachusetts. Industrial prosperity was practically at its height when prohibition became effective, July 1, 1919. Hence the effect of prohibition on savings accounts and public relief of poverty is doubly difficult to determine. The present paper makes no attempt to determine it, but simply presents facts as revealed by public records.

The last six months of 1920 and the year 1921 were a period of unemployment which was at its worst in Massachusetts from December, 1920, to the end of March, 1921. The estimated percentage of unemployed in the winter 1920-21 was

*Horatio M. Pollock, M. D.: *Decline of Alcohol and Drugs as Causes of Mental Disease;* and personal communications 1921.

[37]Report Boston Overseers of the Poor for year ending Jan. 31, 1916. P. 3.

nearly double that of the winter 1914-15.[38] The cost of living in Massachusetts in March, 1921, was represented by an "index number" of 166.4 as compared with 101 in the same month of 1915.[39]

Massachusetts Savings Banks. Despite lavish spending on the part of many during the prosperous period, thrift or prohibition, probably both, swelled savings in savings banks, coöperative banks and school savings banks in Massachusetts. During 1918 and 1919, millions of dollars went into the various War Loans. Notwithstanding unemployment and the high cost of living, the State Bank Commissioner was able to report October 31, 1921, that in the year ending on that date, although the number of deposit accounts decreased in the 196 savings banks of the state,‡ the total deposits had increased during the year by $30,724,172.67, a gain over the preceding year of 2.5 per cent. The average of each deposit increased from $465.26 to $478. (Table 29.)

During the seven wet years, 1912-1918, the average annual gain in individual deposits was 1.46 per cent; in the two prohibition years, one of them a hard times year, the average annual gain was 4.2 per cent.

TABLE 29. Savings Accounts in Massachusetts

Year Ending Oct. 31—	Savings Banks			Cooperative Banks			Pr. Cent Increase Over Previous Year*
	Number Accounts	Total Deposits	Av. Acct.	No. Banks	Number Members	Assets	
1912	2,200,917	$ 838,635,098[1]	$381.04	162	172,692	$ 74,484,048[1]	9.6
1913	2,266,261	869,919,019	383.86	169	188,741	81,708,343	9.6
1914	2,309,008	899,279,596	389.46	174	204,249	90,781,470	11.1
1915	2,349,207	928,830,655	395.38	179	217,427	101,547,317	11.8
1916	2,457,269	997,694,818	406.02	183	236,760	113,305,907	11.5
1917	2,491,646	1,022,342,583	410.31	184	247,725	126,695,036	11.8
1918	2,486,834	1,033,892,914	415.75	186	247,224	140,201,033	10.6
1919	2,532,036	1,114,313,692	440.09	190	261,979	154,879,638	10.4
1920	2,593,287	1,206,546,998	465.26	202	296,197	175,979,204	12.3
1921	2,588,448	1,237,271,170	478.00	206	308,790	198,195,048	12.7

School Savings Banks

Year Ending Oct. 31—	Number Depositors	Amount at Credit of Depositors	Average Account*	Transfer— To Savings Banks Pass Books
1912	45,744	$ 38,820[1]	.85	$ 69,119[1]
1913	60,596	56,839	.93	133,819
1914	67,520	64,295	.95	121,685
1915	68,780	70,755	1.02	122,689
1916	70,968	86,906	1.22	169,784
1917	70,902	105,436	1.48	194,041
1918	50,204	59,298	1.18	129,686
1919	44,740	78,240	1.74	64,576
1920	61,224	117,547	1.92	206,770
1921	72,561†	129,489†	1.78	243,127†

(Annual Reports of State Bank Commissioner.)

[38] Mass. Industrial Review. Nov., 1916. P. 31. Estimated from reports from over 1100 labor unions with membership of 242,898.

[39] Rept. Mass. Special Commission on Necessaries of Life. Jan., 1922. P. 106.

‡A decrease of 4,839 accounts out of 2,593,287, less than one-fifth of one per cent.

[1] Cents omitted.

*Estimated from table.

The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston in a report issued Feb., 1920, shows that while the withdrawals from savings accounts in New England banks were heavy in 1921 owing to business depression, nevertheless, sufficient savings and interest upon them were left so that total savings throughout New England "grew some 2 per cent. in 1921, a remarkably good performance in view of the depressed industrial conditions."[40]

Many picturesque instances are related of former drinkers who, finding themselves with more money than they ever before possessed at one time did not know what to do with it and were introduced by friends for the first time to the savings bank.

The coöperative banks during the license years pushed up their assets annually on the average about 11 per cent. They surpassed this rate of gain for the first time in 1920, "the largest gain in any one year." comments the 1920 annual report of the State Bank Commissioner, and in 1921 made a still larger gain, despite unemployment and inevitably heavy withdrawals in many instances. The assets in 1921 were the largest in the history of these institutions (which began in 1877), according to the advance report of the Bank Commissioner.

As to the credit unions, the bank commissioner says of 1921: "In spite of the fact that there were heavy withdrawals notably in industrial centres, these institutions have emerged from the situation materially increased in number, strength and resources and more substantially established in the Commonwealth than at any time since the creation of the Credit Union System."

The foreign banks which serve many foreign-born who want to arrange for steamship transportation or to send money to their native lands, forwarded to foreign countries from Massachusetts in the year ending Sept. 30, 1921, over $15,000,000. In 1919, they had sent over $17,000,000; in 1920, nearly $24,000,000. The largest amount sent previous to 1919 was $10,000,000. These sums were in addition, said the State Bank Commissioner (Rept. 1919), to many millions invested in war government bonds of native lands.

The prosperity and high wages of the late war period, poverty in Europe, resumption of immigration, help explain the large forwardings in 1919 and 1920. yet in 1921 when depression had existed in an industrial state for a year, funds sent abroad by sons of other countries were still fifty per cent. larger than the largest sum previous to 1919.

The school savings banks register the possibilities of thrift in the coming citizens of the state.

The number of youthful depositors (72,561) and the amount to their credit in 1921 ($129,489), though the largest of the decade, seem to register a normal development, about what would be expected from the general trend of preceding years. The same is true of the amount transferred to savings bank pass-books. But when the two unemployment years, 1915 and 1921, are compared, there is indication of more permanency of savings in 1921. The amount transferred to savings bank pass-books in 1915 increased less than 1 per cent over 1914; the amount transferred in 1921 increased 17 per cent over that of 1920—which itself had seen

[40]Savings Deposits in New England during 1920 and 1921. Compiled by the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, Feb, 1922, p. 1.

transferred the largest amount of the decade. Children's pennies in this year of unemployment and expensive living turned into the savings banks of the state $243,127 (Table 29), and thus helped swell the national total of school savings from $2,800,000 in 1919-20 to $4,000,000 in the school year 1920-21,[41] and this in a time of business depression and unemployment.

Response to thrift education counted for something, but there cannot be response unless there is money. Something also must be due to the fact mentioned by one Boston teacher who said early in the winter of 1922 that since prohibition children's school savings were going in larger amounts to the savings banks from homes where formerly the pennies and dimes had frequently been drawn upon to help pay the family grocery bill.

PAUPERISM AND POVERTY

Against this financial background of the prohibition period, made up as it is of several factors, one may place the human element of poverty. The poor, indeed, we have always with us, and especially when unemployment wipes out the slender margin of safety between income and cost of subsistence.

There has been money during the unemployment of 1921 not only for necessities but for some of the luxuries of life. The monthly Review of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston (Jan. 1, 1922) stated that the Christmas trade (1921) was the largest in the history of many old and well-known firms. Sales were slower during January and February, 1922. The February *Review* stated that goods apparently selling well in December were men's furnishings, underwear, hosiery, gloves, handkerchiefs, leather goods, and kitchen goods. "Reports from several sources indicated that phonographs were sold in much larger quantity this past Christmas than the year previous and that there was considerable improvement in the sales of jewelry and toys. Foreign goods which appeared in the stores sold well—French and Belgian handmade novelties, for instance, meeting with considerable approval." *

The Banker and Tradesman (Boston, Dec. 31, 1921), remarked:

"Buying has been unexpectedly heavy during the holiday season; savings accounts in the banks are steadily on the increase, all this in spite of unemployment and other troubles. Looks as though prohibition had made a lot of money available for the above purposes that formerly went into booze."

The reports from public relief agencies confirm this impression that decrease of "booze" helps the family exchequer. Prohibition has at any rate evidently helped conserve the gains of the high wage period to the advantage of self-support in the period of economic depression.

Slackening of employment became conspicuous in the industries of Massachusetts in the last six months of 1920. At the beginning of 1921, unemployment, as judged by the number of persons applied for by employers and of positions filled at the state employment office and as reported by labor unions was the worst since 1915.

Massachusetts Poor Relief by Cities and Towns. Yet in the twelve months

[41]Tabulation of Savings Bank Div. of Am. Bankers Assn., Mar., 1922.
*Monthly Review of Federal Reserve Bank, Boston, Feb. 1, 1922.

ending March 31, 1921, including that winter of unemployment, the total number of poor given relief by Massachusetts cities and towns was the lowest since 1913 (Table 30c). Outside relief (b) showed a slight increase over 1920, but it was lower than in any other year since 1913; the average for the two dry years was 13 per cent. below that of the seven wet years 1912-18. It was 34 per cent. lower than the average of the two years ending March 31, 1916, which included the earlier unemployment period.

ALMSHOUSE POPULATION

The army of public dependents cared for in city and town almshouses and other public relief institutions in the year ending Mar. 31, 1921, was the lowest of the decade, and for the two dry years was 39 per cent. below the average of the wet years (Table 30.a). It is interesting that this decrease of 39 per cent. corresponds quite closely to the Committee of Fifty's estimate more than twenty years ago that 37 per cent. of the pauperism in institutions was due directly or indirectly to intemperance.

TABLE 30. Number of Poor Persons Supported or Relieved During the Year Ending March 31

	By All Cities and Towns			By State Treasury		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
Year Ending Mar. 31—	In Institutions	Outside Relief	Total	In Institutions	Outside Relief	Total
1912	15,018	52,537	67,555	6,846	10,623	17,469
1913	15,314	51,423	66,737	6,549	10,020	16,569
1914	14,457	65,059	79,516	8,690	14,035	22,725
1915	15,363	97,484	112,847	10,022	[1]23,547	33,569
1916	14,786	95,935	110,721	9,204	20,879	30,083
1917	14,337	78,090	92,427	8,612	17,844	26,456
1918	10,626	72,936	83,562	7,948	18,693	26,641
1919	12,185	71,642	83,827	7,480	17,726	25,206
1920	9,604	62,770	72,374	4,939	14,756	19,695
1921	†7,529	†63,804	†71,333	†4,298	[2]21,103	†25,401
Av. 7 wet years 1912-1918.	14,271	73,352	87,623	8,267	16,520	24,787
Av. 2 dry years *1920-21..	*8,566	*63,287	*71,853	*4,618	*17,929	*22,548
Decrease	39%	13%	18%	44%	‡8%	9%

(Annual Statistics from Repts. Dept. of Public Welfare.)

The State Poor. The total number of *state* dependents, that is, those supported from the state treasury, supported during the year ending March 31, 1921, was smaller than the number aided in any of the wet prosperous years, 1916-18; was practically identical with that of 1919 although the proportion of unemployment registered during the year had been from two to eight times as great as in the year ending March 31, 1919. (Table 30f.)

Outside relief increased in 1921, but was given to 2,444 fewer persons than in the previous hard-times winter, 1914-15.

The number of poor cared for in institutions by the state in the year ending

*Includes 3 mos., Apr., May, June, of 1919, before Prohibition became effective.
‡ Increase in total but decrease per 100,000 population as compared with 1915.
[1] Equivalent to 638 per 100,000 population.
[2] Equivalent to 543 per 100,000 population.

March 31, 1921, was the lowest of the decade. There were fifty-seven hundred (5,724) fewer thus supported by the state than in 1914-15. (Table 30d.)

It is not unlikely that when the number of persons supported or relieved for 1921-22 is available, it may show some increase over 1920-21 in view of the continued economic depression.

The two state institutions for dependents are the State Infirmary at Tewksbury, and the Almshouse Ward at the State Farm. Some are supported by the state in city and town almshouses.

The State Infirmary at Tewksbury "remains the great unclassified residence of public dependents. It contains over seven hundred insane persons: upwards of eight hundred suffering from tuberculosis: a thousand aged and infirm men and women, and over four hundred minors."[42] It receives the indigent who have no legal settlement in town or city. From six to eight hundred out of each thousand of its inmates are foreign-born, and, roughly, half of the population comes from Boston. Hence the population of the institution would be materially affected by conditions in Boston.

TABLE 31. TEWKSBURY STATE INFIRMARY

Year Ending Mar. 31—	(a) Cared for During Year	(b) Admissions Year Ending Nov. 30	(c) Population Remaining Nov. 30
1912	4,041	4,629	2,233
1913	3,745	4,240	2,354
1914	5,250	4,944	2,469
1915	5,842	4,775	2,379
1916	4,975	3,989	2,218
1917	4,406	3,985	2,027
1918	4,301	3,571	1,984
1919	3,988	3,313	2,088
1920	3,020	2,052	2,154
1921	2,642†	3,018†	2,354†
Average 7 wet years 1912-1918	4,651	4,304	2,237
Average 2 dry years 1920-1921	2,831	2,535	2,254
Decrease	39%	41%	‡0.07%

(Annual statistics from Repts. Dept. Public Welfare.)

The State Infirmary in the year ending March 31, 1921, cared for the smallest number of persons in any year of the decade (Table 31a), in spite of the winter of unemployment and of the fact that those who are sent to the Infirmary are of a class peculiarly susceptible to the industrial barometer. Even later in the year, November, 1921, (Table 31b), the admissions to the Infirmary for the year ending Nov. 30, 1921, were the fewest of the decade except in 1920, the first prohibition year. In 1915, the previous unemployment year, there were 4,775 admissions; in 1921, but 3,018. The population was evidently increasing in 1921 with the oncoming of winter, for on November 30, 1921, it was approximately the same as in 1915 (Table 31c).

[42]Robert W. Kelso, formerly Sec. of Mass. State Bd. of Charities, in "Poor Relief in Mass." 1922, p. 159.

‡Increase.

At the almshouse ward of the State Farm there were supported during the year ending March 31, 1921, 343 persons (Table 32). This is a tremendous contrast to the wet years' average of 1,031, and the 1,418 supported during the hard times of 1914-5 and the 1,588 in 1915-16. The number supported in 1921-22 is not yet available. It was evidently larger than in the preceding year judging by the population remaining April 1, 1922. During the seven wet years the average population on the first of April was 457; in 1922, it was 321; the average for the two dry years was 282.

TABLE 32. Poor Persons Supported or Relieved by the State Almshouse Ward State Farm

During Year Ending Mar. 31—		Population Remaining April 1—		
1912	534	1913	364	
1913	366	1914	491	
1914	998	1915	511	
1915	1,418	1916	662	
1916	1,588	1917	465	
1917	1,345	1918	401	
1918	971	1919	306	
1919	632	1920*	260	(Apr. 3)
1920*	399	1921	244	(Apr. 2)
1921	343†	1922	321†	
Av. 7 wet yrs. 1912-18.	1,031	Av. 7 wet yrs. 1913-19.	457	
Av. 2 dry yrs. 1920-21.	371*	Av. 2 dry yrs. 1920-21.	282	
Decrease	64%	Decrease	38%	

(Statistics furnished by State Dept. of Public Welfare and Dept. of Corrections.)

Boston Poverty. The number cared for in Boston city relief institutions and given outside aid in the year ending March 31, 1921, was 10,976, the lowest number since 1913 (Table 33). The average for the seven wet years had been 14,533.

Unfortunately, the statistics of poor supported and relieved by Boston for the year ending March 31, 1922, are not yet available. They will doubtless be higher than for 1921 because of the continued period of unemployment. The year ending March 31, 1921, may be compared with that ending March 31, 1914, as including the first winter of a period of increasing unemployment. Of the earlier period the report of the Overseers of Poor said: "The tide of increased aid began to rise in the fall of 1913, rose to its maximum in March, 1915, and the ebb tide began to flow out in January, 1916."[43]

The relative amount of unemployment shown in the accompanying table (Table 34) was nearly three times as great in the winter of 1920-21 as in 1913-14; but the number of persons supported by Boston institutions was only about one-

*Includes Apr., May, June of non-prohibition period of 1919. Reports of the Commissioner of Corrections bring data as to the number of paupers supported at the State Farm nearer to date—to Sept. 30, 1921. In the year ending Sept. 30, 1919, there were 508 supported; in 1920, there were 358; in 1921, there were 468.

[43]Report of Overseers of the Poor. City Document No. 21, 1916, p. 3.

half as large as in 1913-14 (Table 33). The total number of persons supported by the city was smaller than in 1913-14.

Perhaps even more significant is the fact that the number aided in 1920-21, with its winter of serious unemployment, was 5,465 fewer than in the year ending March 31, 1917, the last normal wet year when there was the least unemployment of the decade. (The number of persons aided in the state to correspond with dates in Table 34 will be found in Table 30.)

TABLE 33. BOSTON. NUMBER OF POOR PERSONS SUPPORTED OR RELIEVED DURING THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31

During Year Ending March 31—	(a) Institutions	(b) Outside Relief	(c) Total
1912	2,572	7,686	10,258
1913	2,641	6,939	9,580
1914	2,658	8,986	11,644
1915	2,874	14,246	17,120
1916	2,917	17,597	20,514
1917	2,639	13,792	16,431
1918	2,347	13,829	16,176
1919	2,000	12,780	14,780
1920	1,636	11,996	13,632
1921	1,380†	9,596†	10,976†
Average 7 wet years 1912-18	2,664	11,868	14,533
Average 2 dry years 1920-21	1,508	10,796	12,304
Decrease	43%	9%	15%

(Annual Repts. State Board of Charities and Dept. Public Welfare.)

Reports of the Overseers of the Poor enable us to view the situation nearer to date. The total number of families given relief in Boston in the year ending January 31, 1922, was 4,618 (Table 35). This was a smaller number than that of 1915 and of 1916.

The average number of families aided in the two prohibition years ending January 31, 1922 (including a period of 13 months of unemployment) was 4,111; the average for the five wet years including more than three years of full employment was 4,611.

TABLE 34.

	Per cent. of organized labor unemployed in Massachusetts[1]	Persons aided by Boston during 12 months ending March 31	
December 31, 1913	10.4		
March 31, 1914	12.9		
December 31, 1914	18.3		
March 31, 1915	16.6	1915	17,120
December 31, 1915	8.6		
March 31, 1916	8.6	1916	20,514
March 31, 1920	8.7	1920	13,632
June 30, 1920	18.8		
December 31, 1920	31.8		
March 31, 1921	30.0	1921	10,976
September 30, 1921	23.4		

[1]Mass. *Industrial Review*, Nov., 1921, p. 31.

An even better picture of actual dependency appears in the figures for "dependent" exclusive of Mothers' Aid, as the latter once established had maintained a fairly constant number.

The "dependent" cases in 1921 (3,076) were fewer than in three of the five wet years; the average for the two dry years is smaller by 638 (19.6 per cent.) than the average for the five wet years.

TABLE 35. BOSTON. FAMILIES AIDED DURING THE YEAR

Year	Total Families Aided	Dependent	Mothers' Aid
1914*	4,507	3,489	1,018
1915	5,512	4,174	1,338
1916	4,656	3,268	1,388
1917	4,072	2,652	1,420
1918	4,311	2,619	1,692
1919	3,756	2,154	1,602
1920	3,605	2,129	1,476
1921	4,618†	3,076†	1,542†

(Annual Statistics from Reports Boston Overseers of the Poor.)

*Table begins with 1914 because this was the first full year of "Mothers Aid"—assistance given to mothers with dependent children to enable them to keep their families together. Practically 80 per cent of these mothers are widowed, 12 per cent (1920) had husbands dependent because of accident or disease. The remainder have been deserted. Such cases are, therefore, not strictly "dependents" and are less affected by economic variations.

The winter months of 1922 (January, February, March) were hard financially. Resources from the years of plenty evidently had come to their end in many cases. The period followed eighteen months of serious unemployment, much of which continues. The extent of the unemployment had been far greater than in 1913-15. It is not surprising, therefore, that the average number of families aided per month in January, February and March, 1922 (3,545) was

TABLE 36. BOSTON ADMISSIONS TO ALMSHOUSES

Year	(a) State Infirmary Tewksb'ry f'm Boston	(b) Long Island Infirmary & Hospital	St. Farm Alms'h'se Ward from Boston	Charlestown Almshouse	(c) Total from Boston	Born at Long Island
1912[1]	2,081	1,392[2]		65	3,538[2]	37
1913	2,181	1,452	64	57	3,754	29
1914	2,238	1,594[2]	394	98	4,324[2]	37
1915	1,826	1,518	677	93 (8mos.)	4,114	52
1916	1,547	1,417	486	Closed	3,450	30
1917	1,675	1,355	154	..	3,184	27
1918	1,361	1,073	...	..	2,434	32
1919	1,026	841	...	..	1,867	20
1920	709†	552	...	..	1,261†	21
1921	1,145†	937†	151†	..	2,082†	23
Av. 7 wet yrs. 1912-1918..	1,844	1,400			3,542	34
Av. 2 dry yrs. 1920-1921..	927	744			1,672	22
Decrease	49%	46%			52%	35%

(Annual statistics 1913-20 from Reports Boston Institutions Registration Dept. Long Island statistics for 1921, 1922, from Institutions Dept.)

[1]The year here given ends on Jan. 31 of the succeeding calendar year. Thus "1912" is the 12 months ending Jan. 31, 1913, etc.

[2]Exclusive of 37 births included in admissions for this year in annual report.

about 200 more than the average (3,330) for the same months in 1915, but the dependent and Mothers' Aid cases were not recorded separately by months in 1915, so that it is impossible to compare the "dependent" families of the two winters.

The almshouse dependents of Boston are markedly fewer in 1920 and 1921 than in prosperous wet years like 1916 and 1917.

The average number of poor sent annually to institutions by the city of Boston in the seven wet years was 3,542; in 1921 it was 2,082. (Table 36c). Unemployment through 1921 shows its effects as the number was larger than in 1919 and 1920. But the total represents, nevertheless, a decrease of 1,100 below the lowest record of the wet years (1917) when the tide of employment was full.

When this record for 1921 is compared with that of the previous unemployment period, the contrast is still more striking. In 1914 the city sent 4,324 persons to almshouses; the next year, 4,114. When the 1921 record of 2,082 admissions to almshouses is placed beside this record, the change for the better that has occurred speaks for itself.

Boston Almshouse Population. The reports from Boston Almshouse and Hospital at Long Island bring the story down nearly to date, Feb. 28, 1922. (Table 37).

TABLE 37. Population Remaining at Long Island Hospital and Infirmary

	January 31	February 28
1913	1,011	1,054
1914	1,062	1,101
1915	1,163	1,133
1916	1,193	1,203
1917	1,009	1,039
1918	994	970
1919	870	892
1920	734	697
1921	684	715
1922	879†	892†
Average 7 wet years	1,043	1,056
Average 2 dry years	781	803
Decrease	25%	23%

Boston Almshouse Population in Hard Winters

On January 31		On February 28	
1915 wet	1,163	1915 wet	1,133
1916 wet	1,193	1916 wet	1,203
1921 dry	684	1921 dry	715
1922 dry	879†	1922 dry	892†

(Annual statistics from Boston Infirmary Dept.)

The admissions to the Long Island institution in 1921 were 937 as compared with the average of 1,400 in the seven wet years. In the previous years, covering the 1914-15 unemployment period, there had been 1,594 and 1,518 admissions. The admissions were naturally more numerous in 1921 than in 1920, but the average for the two prohibition years is 46 per cent. below that of the seven wet years.

Hard Winters. The population remaining at Long Island January 31, 1922, was 879 (Table 37). Though higher than for three preceding years, this is a strikingly lower figure than the 1,163 dependents in the institution on the same date in 1915, and 1,193 in 1916.

Still further into the heart of the winter, February 28, 1922, there was a population of only 892 as compared with 1,133 in 1915 and 1,198 in 1916.

THE WAYFARER'S LODGE

The Boston Wayfarer's Lodge is the municipal lodging house open all the year round. While many of the men come many times, it is understood to be only a temporary home. It accommodates 175 men comfortably, although as many as 212 can be cared for.

The average number of lodgers served annually by the Wayfarers' Lodge in the seven wet years was 37,511; in the unemployment year, 1915, there were 99,395; in the unemployment year, 1921, there were but 18,859 (Table 38). The Lodge has accommodations for about 25 more men per night than in 1915.

In the seven wet years there were served on the average 55,506 meals annually; in 1915, the number nearly doubled, 103,734. In 1921, there were 39,139 meals served.

The acuteness of the need among men in that winter of 1914-15 is revealed by the report of the Wayfare's Lodge. Five additional buildings had to be opened for a shelter.[44] Certain circumstances seem to have contributed to increasing the number of applicants. "Unfortunately such public announcements as were made at the time laid emphasis upon the size and comfort of the new temporary quarters while failing to include any reference to the requirement that work must be performed in return for lodging and food required. . . . It is not strange, therefore, that as the numbers lodged by the city increased the Overseers of the Poor found themselves without families for complying fully with the statute which stipulates that work must be done in return for lodging."[45]

TABLE 38. THE WAYFARER'S LODGE, BOSTON

Year	Individual Lodgers	Total Lodgings	Av Lodgings Per Man	Total Meals
1912	10,892	27,040	2.48	48,479
1913	11,854	30,205	2.55	52,959
1914	15,633	47,268	3.02	75,353
1915	21,047	99,395	4.72	103,734
1916	8,330	20,995	2.52	39,733
1917	8,479	22,531	2.66	38,558
1918	5,814	15,148	2.60	29,729
1919	3,396	11,298	3.33	19,462
1920	3,599	4,666	1.30	8,912
1921	5,036†	18,859†	3.74†	39,139†
Average 7 wet years 1912-18	11,721	37,511	2.93	55,506
Average 2 dry years 1920-21	4,317	11,762	2.52	24,025

The "year" is for the 12 months ending Jan. 31 of the succeeding calendar year.
(Annual statistics from reports Boston Overseers of Poor.)

[44]Report of Overseers of the Poor, City Document 21, 1915, p. 3.
[45]Report of Associated Charities of Boston, Nov., 1915, p. 32.

These facts may help explain the exceptionally large numbers applying at the Wayfarer's Lodge in the winter of 1915. For the five months ending May 1, 1915, 90,720 men were received and cared for and 95,219 meals were served.

During the three months, January-March, 1922, there were 8,604 lodgings provided and 22,546 meals served. Whereas in the winter of 1915, five additional buildings had to be provided to accommodate the applicants, the writer is informed that in the winter 1921-22 the Lodge was able to accommodate all who have applied.

Thus while there has been a conspicuous increase in aid rendered as the months of unemployment dragged on into 1922, the record for twelve months is far more favorable than for the average wet year; the record for the winter of 1922 is proportionally much more favorable than for the wet winter of 1914-15.

	Av. No. Lodgings Per Month	Av. No. Meals Served Per Month
Five months ending May 1, 1915.....	18,144	19,044
Three months ending April 1, 1922.....	2,868	7,515

How much did prohibition contribute to the decrease in recipients of public relief? The writer does not undertake to estimate. The figures for 1921-1922 so far as available naturally show an increase over the preceding year due to the continued period of business depression. Yet they are below the figures for prosperous days in the wet periods. The very decrease in the number of savings accounts in 1921 may represent an increase in the number of individuals able to care for themselves and thus may help explain the smaller number of applicants for public relief as compared with wet days. Personal bank accounts may have helped tide over situations that formerly drew upon public funds.

Every consideration should be given to the factor of high wages and industrial prosperity in the preceding years as an explanation of the higher levels of savings and the lower levels of poor relief in 1920 and 1921. But in view of the data recorded the conclusion seems inevitable that this period of prohibition has unquestionably conserved earnings, given financial resources which helped tide over the long months of business depression, kept independent or within the care of their own families persons who otherwise would have been dependent on public aid or who would have thronged the doors of the almshouses and other public relief institutions as before.

What the Missions Observe. "How does prohibition suit you, Pat?" was asked of an Irishman in the northwest end of Boston where saloons had been rife. "I wish it had gone into effect forty years ago," was the prompt reply, "I would have somethin' in me pocket today." Hundreds of homes are evidently happier and independent since prohibition came because the head of the family already can say that today he has "somethin' " other than a bottle in his pocket.

"We find a marked decrease in the number of men made destitute by drink," says the Superintendent of the Merrimac Mission in a former saloon-ridden section of the city.[46] "Many men who were complete wrecks are coming in sober and clear in mind, healthier in body and clean in attire. Even the smell of liquor has become hateful to many. A number of attractive stores in this neighborhood have taken the place of the saloon so that we no longer encounter the old disgusting

[46]Personal communication. Mar. 7, 1922.

surroundings, and while new concoctions as a substitute to satisfy the old craving are being manufactured in a few dark corners it is only on a small scale and bound to be suppressed sooner or later."

From the Salvation Army headquarters in another closely populated section of Boston comes confirmation of Family Welfare Society experience (page 25). "There has been a great change as a result of prohibition. Previous to prohibition a great majority of those applying for relief were found, on investigation, to have been brought to their needy condition through drink. Now among those who apply for help we find that the majority have been brought to such a condition through sickness, lack of work and misfortune."[47]

"Previous to the enactment of the national prohibition law alcoholic drink was the chief cause of poverty of those who appealed to us for help. Today there are barely 2 per cent of this class in our calls for help," says the Superintendent of another South End (Hope) Mission. "The number of drunken men seen on the street is not a fraction of what we used to see when the saloons were doing a legitimate business."[48]

"Conditions are infinitely better in our neighborhood than they were before prohibition," says Albert J. Kennedy of the South End House.[49] "Liquor is more easily obtainable than a year ago; there is more evident drunkenness on the streets, showing that those who want liquor are able to obtain it in some form. The difference, however, is negligible compared to conditions before national prohibition went into effect. . . .

Sounder Family Life. "Family life continues on an infinitely sounder basis. The majority of men who gave up drinking are not using substitutes, or if they do, it is in such slight degree as not to affect them. People very generally are glad to have the saloon discontinued. Not even those most desirous of drink ask for the return of the old type of saloon. There is a pretty general feeling even among working men that the rum shop was an unmixed evil. There is absolutely no demand for a substitute for the saloon. My own observation seems to indicate that it is the class above the manual laborer which is drinking. Those obviously under the influence of liquor have money enough to dress well. There are signs which seem to show that law breaking is far more evident among the middle class than it is among the hand workers."

"From our twenty-five years' experience here in the South End, we have had a chance to see what an influence the saloon has had on individuals and families." says Mr. Moore of Morgan Memorial already quoted (p. 26). "We feel that the new regime while it is not all that it desired, is Heaven on earth compared with what the old conditions used to be."

A few typical individual instances illustrate concretely the changes that are taking place. A family assisted by a mission for years had as its nominal head a father who "was about as well acquainted with the Deer Island jail as with his own home because of drink. Today he owns a horse and cart, sells wood and coal for a living and is doing well." "A man who for forty years has been known as

[47] Personal communication. Mar. 7, 1922.
[48] Personal communication. Mar. 6, 1922.
[49] Personal communication. Mar. 7, 1921, Dec. 2, 1921.

one of the drunks of ———— (an industrial town in Massachusetts) was a fine workman at his trade, but we could never keep him at his work for a full week as he would be off, drunk, sometime during the week. He is now a faithful and trusted night watchman. Another who was a perfect sot and did not work half the time is now a very satisfactory night watchman. The children of the family were largely supported by the mother as a wash and scrub woman during the time that her husband was addicted to drink. Today she is one of the happiest women in town and only yesterday I saw her and her husband out driving with a nice horse and sleigh, showing that his money is being much better invested than when it was going for drink. One of our large contractors said that previous to the prohibition law he could not place any dependence upon very many of his laborers after pay day. Now they are at work regularly and he has no trouble along these lines. The chief of police, on Christmas Day, saw coming with their families from a local theatre a dozen men, sober and well dressed, whom, at Christmas in the years before prohibition, he regularly had in the local jail for drunkenness."[50]

FROM PATCHING TO CONSTRUCTING

Not the least of the benefits noted by social workers in the abolition of the legal liquor traffic is the opportunity which it affords for turning from "patching" of wrecks to constructive service.

The Survey sent out a questionnaire in the autumn of 1921 to various parts of the country seeking information as to the rate of unemployment and other problems in destitution. *The Survey's* own comment (Oct. 15, 1921) was that "the little stress placed at the present time upon intemperance as a contributing factor in poverty is one of the interesting points brought out by replies to the questionnaires."

Mr. Stockton Raymond, as General Secretary of the Boston Family Welfare Society, replied that "one fact stands out above all others. Intemperance under prohibition has been a decreasing factor in the work of the Family Welfare Society." Then follows this encouraging note for the future:

"It has thus been possible for the organization to undertake a great amount of constructive and preventive work instead of wasting time in trying to alleviate suffering which could not fail to exist under such an evil as licensed liquor selling."

The Salvation Army. How this change to constructive work is possible is thus stated from the Boston Salvation Army headquarters:

"Previous to prohibition the men were so absorbed in the securing of liquor that they developed a loafing spirit, and seemed to care very little whether they worked or not. Their one thought seemed to be to get all they could drink, which robbed them of any interest or thought they may have had for home and family. Since the barrier has been put up by prohibition, there seems to be an increased willingness on the part of the men to put forth some effort to help themselves. Thus, instead of becoming degenerates, and a burden to the community, by being given work they not only contribute to the support of themselves, but become productive to the world at large. Giving a man something for nothing is de-

[50] Personal communication. Feb. 27, 1922.

structive; helping the man to help himself is constructive; work of the highest order. As a result of not being called upon to give so much time and attention to the intemperate, we are able to devote much more time to the constructive work among both men and women."[51]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The foregoing information covers the principal phases of human life revealed in public documents. It relates to the great chapters of public disorder, crime, sickness and mortality, conditions of women and children, thrift and poverty in a leading industrial state and its capital city for ten years. It includes the most eventful period in the world's history and its attendant social and economic changes. The report places side by side conditions in two periods of business depression.

It contains over one hundred tables of statistics for the ten year periods. It shows that when the year 1921 is compared with the period of seven successive non-prohibition years in the decade, in more than three-quarters of the items tabulated, the figures for 1921 are either the most favorable of the decade, or better than any of the "wet" years, or better than the average of the wet years. In all but less than a dozen the average for the two dry years is conspicuously better than the average for the wet years, and the difference in these few cases was so small as to be practically negligible except in one instance, the Boston City Hospital, which will be mentioned later. Arrests for all causes, for drunkenness, for serious offenses, despite unemployment and unrest following the war, were all far lower (from 12 to 69 per cent.) than in the wet period, either absolutely or in proportion to the population.

The population of the various penal institutions was from 9 to 64 per cent. lower in 1921 than in the average wet year. The total population in all penal institutions of Massachusetts, Sept. 30, 1921, was 3,252 as compared with an average of 5,839 in the seven wet years.

Making all allowance for changing methods of dealing with offenders, it appears that the decrease in drunkenness and accompanying offenses had a preponderating influence in the special decrease in prison population in 1920 and 1921.

The number of women and children caught in the machinery of the law has markedly fallen. Fewer women arrested for all causes and for drunkenness, only 314 women in the penal institutions of the state, Sept. 30, 1921, as compared to an average of 732 in the seven wet years or 839 in the preceding hard-times year of 1915. Arrests for offenses against chastity in Boston were 1,881 in 1921, a smaller number than in any of the seven wet years. The number of children under fifteen years of age arrested in Boston was the smallest of the decade, 600 fewer than the wet years' average. There was the smallest total of arests of neglected and delinquent children in Boston (2,442), a decrease of almost 700 from the wet years' average of 3,124; the fewest cases (save in 1916) begun in the decade in the Boston Juvenile Court, 878; the wet years' average was 1,072. Probation officers ascribe the improvement to the improved conditions in the homes due to prohibition. Parental drunkenness is nearly

[51]Personal communication. Mar. 7, 1922.

absent in cases of dependent and neglected children given into care of the Boston Child Welfare Division.

Statistics are confirmed by the experience of the Boston Family Welfare Society, that found in a hundred new cases only about four cases (4.1) where intemperance was a conspicuous factor in 1922 as compared with twenty-seven (27) in 1917. Gain is confirmed by the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children whose records for 1916 and 1921 showed in 1921 a decrease of two-thirds in the proportion of cases in which intemperance was an important factor in cruelty or neglect to children. The contribution to integrity of the home appears in this Society's record of 144 alcoholic families from which in 1916 four times as many children were removed as were returned; since prohibition came, twice as many have been returned as removed.

Massachusetts and Boston have shared with the rest of the country the remarkable decline in general and infant mortality which began in 1919.

The extent to which prohibition has contributed directly or indirectly can not be estimated, but its influence is clearly traceable in certain classes of mortality. This effect in some cases may be due to decreased drinking; in some to the improvement in food, care, home surroundings, recreation, freedom from worry following improved economic conditions resulting from saving money formerly spent for drink. It will be understood that the influence of all movements for promoting public health are recognized as factors in many of those gains and that no claim is made that Prohibition is the sole cause, except as it touches cases where alcohol is unquestionably the chief conspicuous cause of sickness or mortality.

The deaths from alcoholism in Boston were the lowest of the decade in 1921 except for 1919 and 1920, both prohibition or part prohibition years, 70 deaths in 1921 against the wet years' average of 134. The number of deaths from accidents was the smallest of the decade; of homicides, one less than the wet years' average. There were 102 suicides; the average number in the wet years was 126; in the previous hard times year, the number was 140. The 694 alcoholics admitted to the Washingtonian Home in 1921 represent a genuine gain over the average of 955 admissions in the seven wet years, during which an equal number was entering the doors of the former State inebriate hospital now used by the federal government for the injured of soldiers. There were also 11 small private institutions in Massachusetts for the treatment of alcoholics. All but three of the latter are now closed. As long as the old drinkers continue to drink, it will not be surprising if the Washingtonian Home, in the absence of the other former institutions, receives a considerable number of alcoholics who, formerly, might have gone to the State or private hospitals, and so continues to have a fairly large number of admissions.

In the Boston City Hospital, cases of delirium tremens in 1921 were the fewest since 1915. The admissions of alcoholics present the most conspicuously unfavorable table of the report with a marked increase over 1920. There are, however, no comparable figures for the full seven wet years' period

as the hospital's policy in handling and recording alcoholics was changed in 1916. Some of the increase is due to the quality of liquor purchased. The patients are largely confirmed drinkers, a legacy from pre-prohibition days, idlers, and ne'er-do-wells. The increased number suggests, perhaps, an increased illegal source of liquor supply for them, and one of the results of absence of a prohibition enforcement law in Massachusetts, while the effect seems now to make the drinker not only drunk but sick in the class taken to the hospital.

Mortality from Cirrhosis of the Liver furnishes contributory health evidence of prohibition benefits. In 1921 there were approximately but three-fifths as many deaths from Cirrhosis of the Liver in both Boston and Massachusetts as in the average wet year. The tuberculosis death rate in both city and state reached in 1921 its lowest point and prohibition is named among the contributing causes.

Alcoholic insanity ("alcoholic psychoses") was responsible for but 151 first admissions to public institutions for the insane and McLean Hospital in 1921; there was an annual average of 340 in the seven wet years. The total number of first admissions of all insane was the lowest since 1912 except for 1920, also a prohibition year. Alcoholic insanity was responsible for 10.3 per cent. of first admissions in the average wet year; the dry years' average was 4.24 per cent.

Poverty and pauperism returns so far as available show a marked improvement over the wet period. After a winter (1921) when unemployment had been the worst since 1915, the state, cities', and town almshouses had, March 31, 1921, the smallest population of the decade and only about half the average for the wet years which included three years of full employment and higher wages. Outside relief by cities and towns was given in 1921 in nearly 10,000 fewer cases than the average for the wet years, and in 34,000 fewer cases than in the year including the hard winter of 1915. Outside relief was given by the State in more cases than for several years, but the number fell by 2,400 below the 1915 figures, and represented only 543 persons assisted per 100,000 population as compared with 638 in 1915. (Table 30).

The admissions to the Boston Almshouse (Long Island Infirmary and Hospital) bring the pauperism and poverty figures nearer to date with a total of 937 admissions in the year ending January 31, 1922; the average for the seven wet years was 1,400. The admissions in the wet years never fell below 1,073. The resident population February 28, 1922, numbered 892; there were 1,133 on the same date in the 1915 hard winter, and 1,203 in 1916.

The Boston Wayfarers' Lodge in 1921 provided 18,859 lodgings, a smaller number than in any wet year except 1918; the average for the wet years was 37,511. During the winter of 1922 there was an increased demand for lodgings and meals, but although there was more unemployment than at the same time in 1915 and there was a monthly average of 2,868 lodgings and 7,515 meals provided in January, February and March, 1922, the monthly average in the five months ending May 1, 1915, was 18,144 lodgings and 19,044 meals.

The Family Welfare Society cared for 4,154 families in the year ending April 30, 1922. Though this was a larger number than in several preceding years, it was nearly 700 fewer than the 4,847 families cared for in the previous hard times year of 1915.

The few instances of an increase in numbers in 1921 over the wet period outside those already mentioned include the deaths from homicide in Massachusetts which, however, were but four more in 1921 than the average for the wet years and were fewer than in 1913, 1915, and 1916. The average number of homicides for the two years 1920 and 1921 was 11 per cent lower than the average for the seven wet years.

The population in the State Infirmary, November 30, 1921, total (2,354) exceeded by 117 the average for 1912-17, but it was lower than in 1914 and 1915.

When the average of the two prohibition years 1920 and 1921 is compared with the average for the seven wet years the gains of the prohibition period are even more conspicuous. The thoughtful student of the tables will see throughout the record of 1919 and 1920, when prohibition first went into effect, the promise of what well observed and well enforced prohibition may mean to public health, welfare and security. The disparaging remarks made concerning supposed ineffectiveness of prohibition can nearly all be traced to comparison of conditions between 1920 and 1921, as, in general, the figures are less favorable in 1921, but that this phrase may not be wrenched from its context and used to give an erroneous impression, the writer includes with it the reminder that 1921 shows immense gains over the average wet year.

In view of the fact that Boston was a consistently wet city, that there has been no adequate state law to assist honest local officials who desired to make prohibition thoroughly effective in Boston and throughout the state, the results so far apparent are both significant and encouraging. The situation in 1921, in so far as it is an improvement over the old wet regime (as it is in all but a small minority of points) is cause for distinct encouragement. In so far as it is less favorable than in 1920, it is a challenge to defeat the menace of a traffic that organizes for lawless purposes at the expense of public welfare, and to support loyally a law that in a brief time has brought so much of benefit to the community at large as well as to individuals. What has been done, the State and City can continue to do.

The words of Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President-Emeritus of Harvard University, well summarize the whole matter:[1]

"Evidence has accumulated on every hand that Prohibition has promoted public health, public happiness and industrial efficiency. This evidence comes from manufacturers, physicians, nurses of all sorts, school, factory, hospital and district, and from social workers of many races and religions laboring daily in a great variety of fields. This testimony also demonstrates

[1]From a letter sent Feb. 12, 1922, to be read at a hearing before the Committee on Legal Affairs of the Mass. Legislature on a bill providing a State Prohibition Enforcement Code.

beyond a doubt that Prohibition is actually sapping the terrible force of disease, poverty, crime and vice. These results are obtained in spite of the imperfect enforcement in some communities of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. . . . Let Massachusetts at once take her whole share in putting into execution these prohibitory measures, which are sure to promote public health, public happiness, and industrial efficiency throughout the country, and to eliminate the chief causes of poverty, crime and misery among our people."

HISTORICAL REFERENCES

Several studies have been made of the liquor situation in Massachusetts. A list of the more important ones is appended for reference by readers who desire to study the history of drunkenness and legislative methods of dealing with the liquor traffic in Massachusetts and the results.

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The last is the most complete of these reports.

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